

May 19, 1965

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LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO ESTABLISH A FEDERAL MURDER LAW TO ACHIEVE APPROPRIATE JUSTICE AND VERDICTS IN THE TRIAL OF PERSONS CHARGED WITH MURDER OF CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

(Mr. ROSENTHAL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am today submitting legislation designed to establish a Federal murder law with the purpose of dealing with one of the most disturbing phenomena in the conduct of American jurisprudence—the failure to achieve appropriate justice and verdicts in the trial of those charged with the commission of murder of civil rights workers.

The last decade has seen seven major murders of Negro and white civil rights workers in the South, and although overwhelming evidence of guilt was amassed by law enforcement officials, none of those so charged has been found guilty. Innumerable other unreported or less publicized murders have been committed in the absence of the threat of meaningful prosecution.

It is my hope that the legislation I am today proposing will elicit from the House a full hearing and the final answer to this unacceptable denial of justice. These miscarriages of justice demonstrate the need for a Federal murder statute, as did the Lindbergh tragedy dramatize the necessity for a Federal kidnapping statute.

The maintenance of equal protection of the law and the right of all citizens of the United States to expect the unobstructed exercise of justice in every city and State of the Union should be unquestioned. If local law enforcement is inadequate, or unwilling to meet this responsibility, then the Federal Government must, in the last analysis, take action.

My bill would provide that murder or manslaughter, or the attempt thereof, committed by or upon any person who has travelled or is travelling in interstate commerce would be a Federal offense and therefore subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal authorities. It is my expectation that the Federal judicial system will provide a mechanism far freer from local color and bias than has been offered by the States. Federal constitutional guarantees will be afforded to those accused of murder and manslaughter, while the community at large will derive comfort from knowing that the selections of Federal judges and juries are more attuned to rendering fair justice than to satisfying local prejudices.

The enactment of this legislation, and the resultant likelihood of increasing the number of convictions in murder and manslaughter cases, where such convictions are mandated by the evidence, will serve as a deterrent to those who seek to defeat compliance with Federal civil rights statutes.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, it is regrettable that local law enforcement

has so miserably failed in the preservation of the rights of all citizens of the United States, making it necessary that century old legal concepts have to be changed. But, if we are to remain a free and democratic society, then changed they must be.

ENDORSEMENT AND SUPPORT OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

(Mr. MORRIS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include a resolution.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, unlike some of my colleagues who have spoken on the House floor today, I believe that we do have a policy in foreign affairs. I believe that we do have friends abroad and I believe that the President of the United States is implementing this policy.

Mr. Speaker, on May 15 of this year, the Democratic State executive committee met in Santa Fe, N. Mex. This committee is composed of 33 county chairmen throughout the State of New Mexico. They passed a resolution unanimously endorsing this Government's position in foreign affairs, our foreign policy in southeast Asia, with specific reference to Vietnam and our foreign policy in Latin America with specific reference to the case of the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I include in my remarks the resolution to which I have referred. The resolution referred to follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the foreign policies of the United States are of paramount concern to all Americans and to the free world and these policies presented by President Lyndon B. Johnson, are designed to maintain and enhance freedom and liberty for nations throughout the world; and

Whereas the policy of the United States and the commitments made in southeast Asia, such as those in South Vietnam, and similar areas are for the purpose of insuring freedom in that part of the world; and

Whereas the United States under President Johnson has maintained and intensified its policy to keep the nations of Latin America free from the shackles of international communism, particularly with the current policy in the Dominican Republic: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Democratic Party of the State of New Mexico and its county chairmen, meeting in Santa Fe, on the 15th day of May 1965, Do hereby solemnly and vigorously support the foreign policy of our President, Lyndon B. Johnson, particularly in regard to South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, and do dedicate ourselves to the furtherance of that policy for the benefit of all peoples of the world who love, desire, and hold precious freedom.

TURMOIL IN INDUSTRY—EXCISE TAX GOOP

(Mr. HALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week, the President sent to Congress a message dealing with the removal of certain emergency excise taxes. I

feel certain the Congress will enact major legislation along these lines, as many of us in the Congress have been urging for years.

But, I am distressed, Mr. Speaker, that the President has been the recipient of some extremely poor advice which already is causing turmoil in certain industries. I refer to the proposed effective date of certain of those tax reductions. For example, the excise tax reductions on automobiles would take effect on May 14, the date of the President's message to the Congress. The purpose, obviously, is to prevent an abrupt curtailment of auto purchases by persons who, quite logically, would otherwise wait until the tax reduction becomes effective.

But, for many business machines, the effective date would not become effective until July 1. I am advised this morning by one of the industries with plant locations in southwest Missouri, that they are being flooded with cancellation or deferral orders from clients who, quite logically, do not want to be penalized 10 percent in the purchase price of expensive machinery, much of it costing as much or more as a new automobile. This is in an area where 2- to 3-percent discounts are often sought. A 2- or 3-week lag might be tolerable, but not the 7-week lag, which may cause many layoffs and disruption of production, is intolerable. Even though the Congress may ultimately make an earlier retroactive date, it will be too late because of the present climate generated by the President's message, and reportorial services.

I hope the President will take immediate action to correct this oversight by recommending an earlier effective date on removal of excise taxes at least on business machines.

BISHOP WILLIAM F. CREIGHTON

(Mr. GOODELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with great reluctance, but I believe the time has come for those of us in public life to express a word of caution to a revered and respected group in our society. I speak of bishops and other clergy who are rightly concerned with all human problems and committed to alleviating human suffering.

Yesterday a respected leader of my church, Bishop William F. Creighton, spoke with passion, and I fear a trace of malice, about one of our colleagues in the other body representing the State of West Virginia. I do not question Bishop Creighton's right—yes, his obligation—to speak earnestly and forthrightly about public problems. I do question the propriety of a man of the cloth apparently attacking motives and integrity, and in this case even implying lack of any human compassion in a respected public official who happens to differ with him. I often disagree with the gentleman from West Virginia myself, and I happen to in this case with reference to welfare policy.

I regret, however, to read Bishop Creighton's characterization of our colleague and I quote:

**EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS,
ETC.**

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

**REPORT ON ACTUAL PROCUREMENT RECEIPTS
FOR MEDICAL STOCKPILE OF CIVIL DEFENSE
EMERGENCY SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT PUR-
POSES**

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, reporting, pursuant to law, on the actual procurement receipts for medical stockpile of civil defense emergency supplies and equipment purposes, for the quarterly period ended March 31, 1965; to the Committee on Armed Services.

**AUDIT REPORT OF EXCHANGE STABILIZATION
FUND**

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, an audit report of the Exchange Stabilization Fund, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1964 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

**PROPOSED LEGISLATION RELATING TO DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA**

A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the establishment by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of a Youth Council as an agency of the Government of the District of Columbia (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

**REPORT ON REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY RE-
CEIVED BY STATE SURPLUS PROPERTY AGEN-
CIES FOR DISTRIBUTION TO PUBLIC HEALTH
AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on real and personal property received by State surplus property agencies for distribution to public health and educational institutions, for the quarterly period ended March 31, 1965 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on potential savings through use of Government-owned housing to meet military requirements in the Jacksonville, Fla., area, Federal Housing Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Veterans Administration and Department of Defense, dated May 1965 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on inequitable allocation of accelerated public works funds among eligible areas, Area Redevelopment Administration, Department of Commerce, dated May 1965 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, without amendment:

S.J. Res. 65. Joint resolution establishing the Commission on Art and Antiquities of the Capitol, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 201);

H. Con. Res. 383. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of a pocket-sized edition of "The Constitution of the United States of America" as a House document, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 202);

S. Res. 92. Resolution to permit reprint of the Committee on Aging's report entitled "Frauds and Deceptions Affecting the Elderly: Investigations, Findings, and Recommendations" (Rept. No. 197);

S. Res. 98. Resolution to print as a Senate document the committee print entitled "Proposed Federal Promotion of 'Shared Time' Education (A Digest of Relevant Literature and Summary of Pro and Con Arguments)" (Rept. No. 198);

S. Res. 99. Resolution to print as a Senate document the committee print entitled "Student Assistant Handbook (Guide to Financial Assistance for Education Beyond High School)" (Rept. No. 199); and

S. Res. 101. Resolution to provide additional funds for the Committee on Appropriations.

**CIGARETTE LABELING—REPORT OF
A COMMITTEE (S. REPT. NO. 195)**

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, from the Committee on Commerce, I report favorably, with amendments, the bill (S. 559) to regulate the labeling of cigarettes, and for other purposes, and I submit a report thereon. I ask that the report be printed, together with the supplemental views of Senators NEUBERGER and HART.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). The report will be received and the bill will be placed on the calendar; and, without objection, the report will be printed, as requested by the Senator from Washington.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the Committee on Commerce has held rather lengthy hearings on the matter of cigarette labeling and cigarette advertising.

The committee spent much time not only on the bill, but also on the report which sets forth the problem that is involved and the committee recommendations.

The report is now ready for filing. Many Senators and members of the public are deeply interested in the conclusions that have been reached.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when copies of the printed reports are exhausted, the Commerce Committee be authorized to request a further printing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**AMENDMENT OF BRETTON WOODS
AGREEMENTS ACT—REPORT OF
A COMMITTEE—SUPPLEMENTAL
VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 196)**

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I submit the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations on H.R. 6497, a bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreements Act to authorize an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that the supplementary views of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], be printed as a part of the report of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be received, and the bill will be placed on the calendar; and, without objection, the report will be printed, as requested by the Senator from Alabama.

**TO PRINT AS A SENATE DOCUMENT
THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION—REPORT OF A
COMMITTEE (S. REPT. NO. 200)**

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 107) authorizing the printing of the 67th annual report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution as a Senate document, and submitted a report thereon; which report was ordered to be printed, and the resolution placed on the calendar, as follows:

Resolved, That the 67th annual report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the year ended March 1, 1964, be printed, with an illustration, as a Senate document.

**CARRIE WALTON—REPORT OF A
COMMITTEE**

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 108) to pay a gratuity to Carrie Walton, which was placed on the calendar, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay, from the contingent fund of the Senate, to Carrie Walton (widow of Barrister L. H. Walton, an employee of the Senate at the time of his death, a sum equal to 1 year's compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. MORSE, Mr. PELL, Mr. COOPER, and Mr. SCOTT):

S. 1992. A bill to establish a Peace by Investment Corporation, and for other related purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MONDALE (for himself, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. PROXMIRE):

S. 1993. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to protect the public from unsanitary milk and milk products shipped in interstate commerce, without unduly burdening such commerce; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONDALE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MONRONEY (by request):

S. 1994. A bill to amend the Dual Compensation Act;

S. 1995. A bill to provide for the discontinuance of the Postal Savings System, and for other purposes;

S. 1996. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to authorize the payment of an annuity to a secretary of a justice or judge of the United States on the same basis as an annuity to a congressional employee or former congressional employee;

S. 1997. A bill to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, and for other purposes; and

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S. 1998. A bill to establish the Federal Salary Review Commission; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONROE when he introduced the last two above-mentioned bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FONG:

S. 1999. A bill for the relief of Young Kih Minn; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CANNON:

S. 2000. A bill to provide that standard silver dollars hereafter minted shall bear the figure "1922" in lieu of the year of coinage, and shall bear no mark signifying the mint of coinage; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. CANNON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

RESOLUTIONS

TO PROVIDE FOR A STUDY OF EXPLOSION AT THE AIRBASE AT BIENHOA, SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio submitted a resolution (S. Res. 106) to provide for a study of explosion at the airbase at Bienhoa, South Vietnam, which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. Young of Ohio, which appears under a separate heading.)

PRINTING OF 67TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AS A SENATE DOCUMENT

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 107) authorizing the printing of the 67th annual report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution as a Senate document, which was placed on the calendar.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

CARRIE WALTON

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 108) to pay a gratuity to Carrie Walton, which was placed on the calendar.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

PEACE BY INVESTMENT CORP.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, for myself and on behalf of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] I introduce a bill to create a federally chartered Peace by Investment Corp., tion, and for other related purposes.

The Corporation is designed to enable small investors in the United States to buy shares at \$5 a share to establish a pool of capital in the first instance amounting to \$2.5 billion, in order to aid in the development of underdeveloped areas of the free world. It is the culmination of a long effort which has been developing for well over 10 years, and which was introduced in the 87th and 88th Congresses by other Senators, including myself. It comes now with a special impact because, first, it follows the pattern of the Communications Satellite Corp.—Comsat—a mixed Government-private enterprise to use the communications satellite, which has already had a marked success; second, it follows also the objective of the Adela Investment Co., the great free enterprise effort of the major companies and banks of the United States, Europe, and Japan to aid in the free enterprise development of Latin America; and third, because it is a practical way to reduce the need for the U.S. foreign aid and to supplement the activities of the World Bank, International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the United Nations Special Fund, by enlisting the interest of the U.S. small investor, giving him a chance to buy a share in peace on a people-to-people basis.

In addition, the proposal answers the feeling of many who wish we would find some other way of providing foreign aid than through the established Government channel of the foreign aid bill.

The unique feature of the bill is that the corporation would obtain its investment funds primarily from millions of small investors, who would be, in effect, buying peace shares. I sponsored the peace by investment bill in the 87th Congress. Senator MORSE introduced it in the 88th Congress, and the bill was co-sponsored by Senators HUMPHREY, Beall, HARTKE, and myself.

The new bill is a revised version of earlier proposals, which I have sponsored in the Senate, based upon additional study and consultation in the United States and other countries during the past 4 years. The financial and economic basis for the bill is principally the work of Benjamin A. Javits, my brother, a well-known lawyer and author who for many years has written extensively on the subject, and Leon H. Keyserling, well-known economist and former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Under the terms of this legislation, initial and temporary capital funds for the Peace by Investment Corporation, totaling \$50 million, would be subscribed to by the U.S. Government through the Treasury. During the first 6 years of its operations, to obtain added funds for its investment purposes, the Corporation would also be authorized to borrow from the Treasury in amounts not exceeding \$60 million in any one year, and in an aggregate outstanding amount not exceeding \$300 million. During this initial period, the Corporation would function as an agency of the United States. But upon retirement of the basic portion of the original investment in the project

by the Treasury, the Corporation would go through an orderly transition from an agency of the United States to private operation and management.

The bill contains provisions for the retirement of these initial subscriptions and borrowings with earnings in investments and with permanent capital funds obtained by offering stock for public sale, predominantly to small investors, at a price yielding \$5 per share to the Corporation. The issuance of this stock would be authorized by the bill in a total amount of \$2.5 billion, not more than half of which could be during the first 6 years of the Corporation's operation.

The plan also includes an insurance feature, designed to protect investment on a sound actuarial basis against certain types of risk.

The establishment of the Peace Corps reflects growing realization that governments and diplomatic relations alone cannot bring enduring peace, without the consolidation and expansion of people-to-people relationships. Economic relationships are fundamental to human relationships, and private economic endeavors are inseparable from systems of human freedom. This measure is designed to establish and expand people-to-people relationships in the economic field; to encourage an expanded flow of private capital investment from the United States into economically sound enterprises in underdeveloped areas of the world in the interest of world peace through mutual economic progress; to enlarge the number of private investors participating in this flow of capital so as to forge more direct links among the peoples of the world; to reduce gradually thereby the need for U.S. public investment and grants overseas; to help redirect the total flow of capital from the United States so that increasing portions of this total flow go to the underdeveloped areas, and thus be in better harmony with the domestic economic needs of the United States and the effective management of its international balance-of-payments problems.

The onrushing Soviet economic challenge underscores a fact which has been evident since the end of World War II—that our own national and economic security depends upon our willingness and ability to play a substantial economic role in the advancement of industrialization, agricultural productivity, and living standards which are now so abysmally low in many areas of the free and noncommitted world. Undoubtedly, public funds from the United States, from other countries and from international agencies, will need to be continued for some years, and even enlarged. But it is obvious that the flow of private capital needs to be expanded enormously in the years ahead, if a stable productive structure is to be built on the foundations created with the help of public funds.

Equally important as the economic factors are the political and social factors. By demonstrating throughout the world, not only that we in the United States can help to make responsible sovereign governments work for the benefit of free peoples everywhere, but also that

products would be subject to seizure or rejection if they failed to conform to the bacterial, temperature, composition standards, or other physical or chemical criteria of the Federal uniform regulations. Such milk or milk products would also, on arrival, be subject to nondiscriminatory regulations of the receiving State or locality as to (1) pasteurization prior to delivery to retail establishments or before processing; (2) protection from contamination and deterioration during transportation and storage in the receiving State; and (3) the type of container in or from which milk or milk products may be served or sold at retail.

Section 809 contains the general administrative provisions governing the Surgeon General's rulemaking powers under the bill. It constitutes a major departure from other Federal milk sanitation bills introduced during the current and prior sessions of Congress in expressly providing that the uniform sanitation regulations referred to in the bill shall be adopted by the Surgeon General in accordance with the procedures for informal rulemaking required by section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act. The section provides that interested persons shall have an opportunity to participate in the rulemaking process through the submission of data, views, or arguments, orally or in writing.

The section (1) requires publication of proposed regulations in the Federal Register; (2) affords opportunity for filing objections thereto; (3) requires the holding of a public hearing on such objections and the opportunity for interested persons to be heard orally or in writing; (4) requires the Surgeon General to make detailed findings on such objections and to state his reasons for his orders or rulings on exceptions; and (5) authorizes judicial review of any final order or regulation by any interested person or State agency.

Section 810 authorizes the Surgeon General to make such inspections, investigations, laboratory examinations as he deems necessary to assure the validity of State certification and compliance with his regulations, and to decertify interstate milk plants for cause.

Sections 811 and 812 would authorize the Surgeon General, directly or through grants, to conduct appropriate studies and training, furnish technical assistance to State and local authorities, encourage uniform adoption and use of the Federal milk sanitation regulations, and cooperate with States, local governments, industries, and others in the development of improved milk sanitation programs.

Section 813 contains savings provisions applicable in the event that any part of the bill should be declared invalid. It also provides that the provisions of the bill shall not apply to milk products (except as defined in the bill) which are subject to the regulatory control or sanitary requirements imposed by other laws or regulations of the United States.

Section 814 provides for injunctive relief at the suit of the United States or of any interested person to restrain actions by State or local officers in violation of the bill. However, no criminal sanctions are provided.

Section 815 authorizes the appropriation annually to the Public Health Service of such sums as may be necessary to enable the Surgeon General to administer the bill.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. NELSON. I am happy to join the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] as a cosponsor of the bill which he has introduced for the purpose of assuring the free movement of milk in interstate

commerce without the imposition of irrational regulations that are designed to hamper the movement of milk.

The Senator from Minnesota represents, in part, one of the great dairy States in the Nation. He has established a national reputation, as attorney general of Minnesota, in fighting for this cause. I commend him for drafting what I think is the best of a long series of bills that have been introduced over the years to tackle this important problem.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Wisconsin for his kind remarks. He is somewhat modest, because he, too, has established a reputation as one of the leaders in the country in seeking fair and rational means for the marketing of milk and dairy products.

Coming as we do from the two major dairy States in the Union, States which produce the best milk at the lowest cost, we are desirous that our farmers may take full advantage of the economic benefits from which all other farmers of the Nation benefit.

SALARY INCREASE FOR CLASSIFIED AND POSTAL EMPLOYEES—ESTABLISHMENT OF FEDERAL SALARY REVIEW COMMISSION

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, two bills proposed by the President of the United States for the adjustment of classified and postal employees' salaries and for the establishment of a Federal Salary Review Commission to review at 4-year intervals the salary structure for Federal executives, Justices, and Members of Congress.

The first of these proposals provides for an across-the-board increase of 3 percent for classified and postal employees. Since the enactment of the Federal Salary Reform Act in 1962, the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and Congress have attempted to fulfill the obligations owed the comparability principle in order to attract and retain civilian personnel of the highest possible quality. This bill is part of that fulfillment. Unlike the 1962 and 1964 salary statutes, this proposal does not seek to attain comparability with nongovernment salaries for upper-level career positions. It is designed to reflect increases in salaries which have been characteristic of the economy of the past 2 years. It has no effect on the Executive salary schedule or the salaries of members of the legislative and judicial branches of the Government.

The bill also would authorize the President to revise annually classified and postal salaries and recommend adjustments in accordance with the findings of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of salary levels for similar work in non-Federal employment. His recommendations would be acted upon by Congress through the procedure followed for Executive reorganization plans—that is, unless either House of Congress expresses its disapproval by resolution within 60 days, the proposed salary schedule would become law.

The President has reported that this bill would cost \$406 million annually.

The second proposal would establish a Federal Salary Review Commission appointed by the President, the presiding officers of both Houses of Congress, and the Chief Justice of the United States. The Board's duty would be to review the compensation of Members of Congress, justices and judges of the United States, and Federal officers subject to the Executive salary schedule. The Commission would meet and report to the President quadrennially. The first Commission would be appointed in 1966 and would report by January 1, 1967, and on January 1 of each 4th year thereafter. Its study would encompass the entire scope of the salary structure of these Federal officers. The President would report his recommendations to Congress for the revision of the salaries of these officers. His recommendations, again, would become law unless either House of Congress expressed its disapproval within 60 days after their submission.

I am in general agreement with the President's recommendation for an increase in the pay of civilian employees and hope that the Congress will act on this measure this year.

The Congress should also examine the President's proposals with respect to the establishment of new procedures for the review of salaries and for the making of periodic adjustments to maintain comparability of Government employees' salaries with those in private industry.

Because the procedures recommended by the President represent a radical departure from the traditions and historical prerogatives of the past, I believe they must undergo careful scrutiny not only by Congress, but also by the employees affected. For these new procedures will automatically adjust salaries down as well as up.

Congress has met its responsibilities in regard to Federal Government compensation in the past. I believe, unless clear evidence is presented that Congress cannot continue to fulfill this responsibility, it must face up to the pay problem in the years ahead, yielding to no other entity the duty of preserving the doctrine of comparability or the responsibility for fixing the rates of compensation paid to its own members. For there is also the need for accountability—this being the task of seeing that Government and Government employees perform in a manner that merits positive action by the Congress to support fair and just pay rates.

I am aware of the strong interest in the Senate in these bills. The committee will act on them as promptly as possible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bills will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills, introduced by Mr. MONRONEY, by request, were received, read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, as follows:

S. 997. A bill to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and em-

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ployees in the Federal Government, and for other purposes; and

S. 1998. A bill to establish the Federal Salary Review Commission.

BACKDATING THE NEW SILVER DOLLARS

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide that standard silver dollars hereafter minted shall bear the figure "1922" in lieu of the year of coinage, and shall bear no mark signifying the mint of coinage.

It was most gratifying to Senators from the West, and particularly to the junior Senator from Nevada, to learn last week of the President's decision to implement the action of the Congress last year with an Executive directive ordering the resumption of silver dollar coinage.

This action was made possible by the fact that the coin shortage has eased sufficiently to permit a portion of the mint's productive capacity to be devoted to the manufacture of the silver cartwheels which bear a great tradition and are highly honored in the historic and present-day commerce of the Western States.

We are all familiar, however, with the rapid disappearance last year of the Treasury's reserves of silver dollars, and, therefore, lest the new silver dollars become a target for speculators and hoarders, I am proposing that the date of the new silver dollars be backed up to the year 1922 and the mint mark be deleted.

The obvious purpose of this amendment, Mr. President, is to have the new coins become part of an earlier production of more than 90 million silver dollars rather than, because of their unique date, become the object of hoarding, speculation, and other noncommercial uses.

If this bill is acted upon expeditiously by the Congress, it may well serve to again bring into circulation a goodly share of the nearly \$465 million that are now removed from everyday circulation.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the Record at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2000) to provide that standard silver dollars hereafter minted shall bear the figure "1922" in lieu of the year of coinage, and shall bear no mark signifying the mint of coinage, introduced by Mr. CANNON, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, all standard silver dollars minted after the date of enactment of this Act (1) shall be inscribed with the figure "1922" in lieu of the year of the coinage, and (2) shall not bear any mark or inscription indicating the mint of coinage.

SEC. 2. The requirement of section 3550 of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 355) that the obverse working dies at each mint shall be destroyed at the end of each calendar year shall not be applicable to any such dies used for the minting of standard silver dollars after the date of enactment of this Act.

DISASTER OF BIENHOA SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED AND THE COMMITTEE FINDINGS REPORTED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, today I am introducing a Senate resolution for a complete investigation and a factfinding report to the American people of all the facts pertaining to the tragic explosions and loss of life at the Bienhoa Jet Air Force Base in South Vietnam. If the facts disclose that there was negligence on the part of the commanding general at his airbase and carelessness, inattention, and/or just ordinary stupidity on the part of those officers in charge of protecting the lives of men of our Armed Forces and Vietnamese soldiers and employees of this airbase, the American people are entitled to know all about this. We have an obligation to make a searching inquiry of this chain reaction bomb explosion last Sunday which killed some 28 men and wounded more than 100 and destroyed many millions of dollars worth of the latest type offensive jet bombers of the United States. In fact, this explosion destroyed, according to news accounts, 10 percent of our entire Vietnam-based force of this most modern type of jet bomber.

If the searching inquiry should disclose carelessness and negligence, if the planes were crowded wing to wing at a time and place when a dispersive formation was possible, and if they were in fact "sitting ducks" so that one lucky shot or unexpected explosion would likely start such a series of chain reaction explosions, let the people know the facts and let no guilty officer escape exposure and disciplinary action.

Mr. President, in the Washington Post of this morning there appeared an excellent editorial entitled "Again Bienhoa," which searchingly questions the conditions which resulted in the tragic accident at Bienhoa Airbase last Sunday. I commend this to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record at this point as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

AGAIN BIENHOA

It is tragic enough to die in war from enemy action. But to die in a war area within your own lines from your own weapons is doubly tragic. So it was at the Bienhoa jet airbase in South Vietnam where a chain-reaction bomb explosion on Sunday claimed the lives of some 28 Americans and Vietnamese and the injury of more than 100.

Accidents will happen, of course, but there is something morbidly marked about Bienhoa. Last November, the Vietcong, without apparently any trouble at all, managed to sneak right up to the base's edge and bombard it with mortars, killing six Americans and Vietnamese and destroying five of the huge B-57 bombers. At that time, the planes had been lined up on the runway without a mission since the attack from the North expected last August never came off.

After much inquiry, the United States decided that it no longer could rely on the base's Vietnamese guards and sent U.S. troops to Bienhoa with orders to make deep reconnaissance patrols in all directions to prevent future surprises. Revetments were ordered built around the planes so that, in a protected and dispersed formation, they no

longer would be sitting ducks for one lucky shot starting off a chain-reaction explosion.

Now, more than 6 months later, the revetments reportedly are still being built. The same base colonel still is in charge. And the big planes were all lined up together Sunday when the delayed-action chemical fuse in one plane's bomb started off a chain reaction. Since there had been a several-day halt in bombing North Vietnam, it was explained that the planes were lined up preparing to bomb the Vietcong in the South.

It also has been explained that since there are only three jet airbases in South Vietnam—Bienhoa, Saigon, just south of it, and Danang, near the North Vietnamese border—it is necessary to crowd the U.S. planes onto what small base space exists. Maybe. But many U.S. planes are based on carriers at sea. And since the bombing is virtually without opposition, why the need for crowding so many bombers on these airstrips that they have to be lined up wingtip to wingtip?

All this is quarterbacking after the tragedy. But since Bienhoa seems to be prone to tragedy, perhaps it is time really to look into its security for the future.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a resolution authorizing the Committee on Armed Services, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, to make a comprehensive study and investigation of any and all matters relating to the explosion at Bienhoa which resulted in the tragic loss of American and South Vietnamese lives and the substantial loss of our military aircraft and other equipment. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in its entirety at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, under the rule, the resolution will be printed in the Record.

The resolution (S. Res. 106) was referred to the Committee on Armed Services, as follows:

S. RES. 106

Resolved, That the Committee on Armed Services, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 (a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to make a comprehensive study and investigation of any and all matters relating to the explosion and fire which occurred at the airbase at Bienhoa, South Vietnam, on May 16, 1965, and which resulted in the tragic loss of American and South Vietnamese lives and the substantial loss of United States military aircraft and other equipment. In carrying out such study and investigation the committee or subcommittee shall determine insofar as possible the cause or causes of such explosion and whether negligence on the part of United States military personnel contributed to the incident.

SEC. 2. The committee shall report its findings upon the study and investigation authorized by this resolution, together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1966.

SEC. 3. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, through January 31, 1966, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided,* That the minority is authorized at its discretion to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than

\$2,100 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$30,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965— AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 192

Mr. HILL submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the amendment, in the nature of a substitute (No. 124) proposed by Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself and Mr. DIRKSEN) to the bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 195

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I submit an amendment to the pending substitute and ask that it be printed and also printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and lie on the table; and, without objection, will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 195) was ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

On page 2, line 3, strike out the figure "3" and insert in lieu thereof the figure "4".

On page 2, line 8, strike out the figure "6" and insert in lieu thereof the figure "5".

On pages 6 and 7, strike out subsection 4(c) and insert the same after line 3 on page 21 as a new subsection 14(c)(3).

On pages 4 through 8 inclusive, strike out subsections 4(a), 4(b) and 4(d) and section 5 in their entirety.

On page 8, line 19, strike out the figures "3(a);" and insert in lieu thereof the figure "4" and strike out everything beginning with the word "or" on page 8, line 19 through the word "amendment" on page 9, line 8.

After page 2, line 2, add a new section 3 as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has determined that in any State or political subdivision of a State the rights of citizens to vote are being denied or abridged on account of race or color, he shall institute an action in the name of the United States in the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia against such State or political subdivision alleging that it is engaging in denying or abridging the rights of citizens to vote on account of race or color. Upon demand of the Attorney General, such action shall be tried by a three-judge district court convened in the manner prescribed by section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court.

"(b) A presumption of denial or abridgment of the rights of citizens to vote on account of race or color will be raised upon proof by the Attorney General that the State or political subdivision (1) maintained on November 1, 1964, any test or device, and (2) the Director of the Census establishes (A) that less than 50 per centum of the persons, other than aliens and persons in active military service and their dependents, of voting age residing therein were registered on November 1, 1964, or that less than 50 per centum of such persons voted in the presidential election of November 1964, and (B) that ac-

cording to the 1960 census, more than 20 per centum of the persons of voting age were nonwhite; or, (3) notwithstanding the foregoing (1) and (2), the Director of the Census establishes, by a survey made upon the request of the Attorney General that the total number of persons of any race or color who are registered to vote in such State or political subdivision is less than 25 per centum of the total number of all persons of such race or color of voting age residing in such State or political subdivision."

On page 17, line 8, strike out the figure "3(a)" and insert in lieu thereof the figure "4(a)".

On pages 19 and 20, strike out section 13 in its entirety and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 13. Listing procedures shall be terminated in any political subdivision of any State upon order of the authorizing court."

On page 20, line 8, strike out the figure "8" and insert in lieu thereof the figure "7", and on page 20, lines 8 and 9, strike out the words "any declaratory judgment pursuant to section 4 or".

Renumber sections 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 as sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I point out that the purpose of my amendment is to leave the bill exactly as it is now except for one thing, that under the bill, the triggering mechanism takes effect automatically. Under my amendment, the statistics and facts set forth in the bill's triggering mechanism constitute a performance for purposes of a court action. That is the only difference between my amendment and the triggering provision in the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 197

Mr. ALLOTT submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the amendment, in the nature of a substitute (No. 124) proposed by Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself and Mr. DIRKSEN) to Senate bill 1564, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR STUDENTS IN POSTSECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 193

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 600) to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education, which were referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 194

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare this morning was privileged to receive excellent testimony from spokesmen representing the library profession. Under the panel chairmanship of the distinguished Librarian of Congress, testimony was received from representatives of the American Library Association, the Association of Research Libraries, and the Catholic Library Association.

The subcommittee in particular took note of the suggestions advanced with regard to the interaction between the

Library of Congress and the university and college libraries with respect to a cataloging problem which currently exists. The solution to this problem which was advanced was argued so persuasively that Senator McNAMARA, Senator CLARK, Senator RANDOLPH, Senator KENNEDY of New York, Senator YARBOROUGH, Senator PROUTY, Senator JAVITS, Senator DOMINICK, and I determined to introduce for reference an amendment to S. 600 which would carry out the intent of the proponents.

I am not unaware that there are many other Senators who may wish to join with us in the sponsorship of the amendment, and I therefore ask unanimous consent that the amendment lie at the desk until the close of business Monday next, to permit such Senators as may wish to join us on the amendment, to do so, and that the amendment be printed in the RECORD, and appropriately referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD and held at the desk, as requested by the Senator from Oregon.

The amendment (No. 194) was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as follows:

On page 26, after line 3, insert the following new part:

"PART C—CATALOGING OF LIBRARY MATERIALS

"SEC. 250. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated \$5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and such sums for each of the four succeeding fiscal years as may be necessary to enable the Commissioner of Education to transfer funds to the Librarian of Congress for the purpose of:

"(1) Insuring, so far as possible, the acquisition by the Library of Congress of all library materials currently published throughout the world of value to scholarship;

"(2) Providing catalog information for these materials promptly after receipt, and distributing bibliographic information in printing catalog cards and by other means, and authorizing the Library of Congress to use for exchange and other purposes such of these materials not needed for its own collections."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that relevant portions of the testimony received this morning in support of the amendment be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the portions of testimony were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM S. DIX, LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, REPRESENTING THE ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH LIBRARIES, ON S. 600, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, U.S. SENATE, MARCH 31, 1965

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee * * * title II of this bill as it is now drafted will go far in enabling college and university libraries to perform more effectively their essential task in higher education. However, we respectfully wish to suggest to this committee a related area of assistance in which the expenditure centrally of a relatively small sum will enable the colleges and universities which receive the \$50 million proposed for acquisitions to meet more easily the heavy burden of staff costs which these acquisitions will demand. We suggest a program which will permit these purchase grants to have the full effect in

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developing national library resources which the legislation intends them to have. I must beg the indulgence of this committee for a few words of explanation.

Books and journals are of no value in a library until they can be found, unless some device is provided by which a reader can start with the name of the author, or the title of the book, or even the subject alone and end up with the book he needs. The card catalog is the conventional device for achieving this end, and every book acquired by a library must be cataloged before it can be placed on the shelves. This operation is considerably more complex than it might appear at first. It involves an exacting technical skill and intellectual effort which requires competence in all of the world's ancient and modern languages. Today the 74 members of the Association of Research Libraries are spending over \$18 million a year on cataloging alone, and while these are the largest libraries, they are a small fraction of the total number.

Fortunately, the basic cataloging of a book, if it is done in a consistent and standard fashion, need not be repeated when a second library gets the same book—if it can also get a copy of the first library's catalog card promptly enough to use it. The most effective device for sharing cataloging began in 1901 when the Library of Congress began selling to other libraries copies of the catalog cards which it prepares for its own collections. In fiscal year 1964 it returned to the Treasury more than \$3.8 million realized from the sale of more than 52.5 million cards to some 17,000 libraries.

Yet the university libraries of the country can still get Library of Congress catalog cards when they need them for only a little over half of the books they acquire each year. The Library of Congress actually acquires a higher percentage of these books, but lacks the necessary staff to catalog them quickly enough for copy to be useful to other libraries. If a method can be found to reduce this nearly 50 percent of original cataloging which is now required, much of it duplicated in libraries all over the country, the savings will be very substantial indeed, and the money released can be spent in strengthening the national pool of books and in providing better library service to students and scholars. After experimenting for many years with various plans for the exchange of cataloging information, we are now convinced that the best solution, and indeed the only effective solution, to the problem is the cataloging of as many books as possible by a central agency and the distribution of cataloging copy or cards to libraries as required for their own acquisitions. We believe also that the obvious central agency is the Library of Congress, which is already meeting over half of the need and which has already established the mechanisms of information and distribution. The Library of Congress is in fact already a national bibliographic center. To meet the national need the system must be perfected. The Librarian of Congress is in agreement with our objective and is present today to testify in support of our proposal.

Centralized cataloging will assist the development of a computer-based system of information storage and retrieval. The basic intellectual operation of cataloging, of describing and properly identifying each book, will always be necessary and is in fact the essential prerequisite of any automated library system. Furthermore, it seems clear that technological innovation as applied to the development of an integrated national network of libraries must move outward from the center. Before the total library resources of the country can be made fully and effectively available to the individual student and scholar by automation, a great mass of bibliographic information must be available in a national center, stored in machine-readable form and distributed by

whatever improved methods can be devised to the local libraries where it will be available to users. Thus, not only can cataloging be done more efficiently at a central location but the resulting bibliographic information must in any event be gathered in one place to take full advantage of the promises of automation.

There is a nationwide shortage of trained librarians, especially of those with the specialized subject knowledge and the language skills required to catalog the kinds of books now required in university libraries. The worldwide commitments of the United States now demand that we train students in scores of fields almost unknown in our universities 30 years ago. To support these programs our libraries must make available books in Arabic, in Urdu, in Swahili, and in dozens of other languages. There are simply not enough catalogers in these areas for each library to provide its own. The case for centralization, either in Washington or elsewhere, is clear on the basis of effective utilization of scarce manpower alone.

There is one more element in the program which we propose. These newly published books from all over the world which are being added each year to American libraries cannot be cataloged by a central agency unless they are in the hands of the catalogers at that agency. It seems clear therefore that the Library of Congress should attempt to acquire comprehensively currently published materials of scholarly interest from all parts of the world. In this acquisition program and in the centralized cataloging the National Agricultural Library and the National Library of Medicine should probably be given certain responsibilities in their own special areas. Most of those books should probably be retained in the collections of the national agency, but some may be passed along to other libraries with special interests and national responsibilities after they have been cataloged and the cataloging copy made available through the national pool. We believe that not more than 100,000 currently published books per year are coming into American libraries which are not added now to the collections of the Library of Congress. We believe that if a substantial proportion of these publications were acquired by the Library of Congress and cataloged promptly, not only would the cataloging problem of all the major American libraries be essentially solved, but the Library of Congress would be enabled to fulfill much more effectively its mission as the greatest national library in the world, serving the daily needs of the Congress and the other branches of the Federal Government, of science and industry, and of the academic and scholarly community.

This, then, Mr. Chairman, is the program which we respectfully propose. It does not represent a narrow or selfish interest, for although it is of special importance to the large university and research libraries from coast to coast it will help solve a pressing problem of thousands of other libraries of all types. It is simply a national plan to improve what is now the most costly and inefficient element in library operations. It will not bring about the millennium, for all libraries will still need trained catalogers to adapt the basic cataloging to their own needs.

But this program will, we are convinced, greatly enrich and strengthen the resources of the Library of Congress as a National Library; utilize more effectively and rationally skilled manpower which is in very short supply; enable hundreds of libraries throughout the country to eliminate alarming backlogs of several million uncataloged and thus unusable books; provide basic elements required for a national system of automating bibliographic information; release for productive use in the support of teaching and research millions of dollars now spent unnecessarily in duplicative effort.

We respectfully suggest, therefore, that in order to make the provisions of title II more effective in developing library collections, the Office of Education should be authorized sufficient funds for transfer to the Library of Congress which should be authorized and directed to (1) acquire on the most comprehensive basis currently published library materials of scholarly value; (2) provide catalog copy for these accessions promptly after receipt, generally within 3 to 4 weeks; (3) process and forward to other designated libraries, by exchange or other methods, books which are not within the collecting scope of the central facility.

We estimate that first-year appropriations should not exceed \$5 million.

In our opinion, the cost involved is small when compared with the benefits to be derived. This program will go far toward solving one of the most pressing problems faced by the Nation's libraries for the past 50 years.

TESTIMONY OF L. QUINCY MUMFORD, LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS, ON THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965, BEFORE THE EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE, SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, MAY 19, 1965

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, * * * the shortage of trained librarians, as you have already heard, has become critical. We have felt this shortage at the Library of Congress. We are, of necessity, conducting our own training program for catalogers in which we teach cataloging theory and practice to college graduates with subject and language competence. This, of course, is time-consuming and expensive, but we shall have to continue the program until there are more graduates with master's degrees in library science available. The training provisions of title II, part B, would, I believe, help in recruiting for the library profession talented students who have not been able to go beyond the bachelor's degree because of inadequate financial resources. The limited number of accredited library schools—at present there are only 33 accredited in the United States by the American Library Association—and their geographical location have hampered recruitment for the profession. The provisions outlined in S. 600 to provide financial assistance to institutions for training in librarianship would, I am confident, improve the picture considerably.

For over half of a century, the Library of Congress has conducted research in library technology in an effort to find the most efficient and economical way to control and to service the materials in its collections. The results of this research have, of course, been made available to libraries and their users throughout the Nation. To give but a few examples: the Library of Congress develops catalog codes and classification schedules; it developed, and utilized in its books-for-the-blind program, longplaying records long before they became available commercially and it continues to conduct experiments for the improvement of talking book records; and it published, among other reports, a study on the preservation of sound recordings in libraries. Many such programs are cooperative, with libraries contributing research and the products of research. Now with the advent of automation, new horizons, heretofore unknown, have opened before the library profession. The Library of Congress is currently carrying on studies leading to the application of computer technology to library operations, especially to the production of machine-readable catalog-card copy and to the automation of our entire bibliographic record. We need the advice and assistance of other libraries in this if we hope—as we do—to create a national library information system. These libraries also have their own problems in this and in other areas on which study is neces-

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hands of weary factory workers, who were totally disinterested in the wealthy candidate.

There was the day I watched a political chairman cry because his party's fund-raising efforts had flopped so badly, and the day I watched a secretary weep when her boss got into political trouble. There was the wife of a prominent political figure, who always smiled and laughed in public, but admitted to me that politics really bored her. The list could go on and on.

There have been dozens of other incidents, some humorous and some sad, in the political panorama of the last 10 years. But perhaps my favorite is one that occurred in 1956, when the late Senator Estes Kefauver was running for vice president. He had been due at a Democratic dinner in Glen Cove at about 9 p.m., but had been running late all day and didn't arrive until close to midnight.

Kefauver took one look at the sleepy crowd and, with his own weariness showing on his face, commented, 'Instead of making a speech at this hour, I think I'll just say "good night." Then we can all go home, go to bed, get some sleep and get ready for more democracy tomorrow.'

All in all, it's been a fascinating 10 years. To all those in the world of politics who helped and answered all my unending questions, my sincerest thanks and appreciation.

(Mr. GILBERT (at the request of Mr. FARNLEY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. GILBERT'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

A YOUNGSTER "VISITS" VIETNAM

(Mr. OTTINGER (at the request of Mr. FARNLEY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Vietnam is a matter of considerable concern to all of us in the Congress, to all Americans, indeed, to the entire world. Much has been said about Vietnam, and even more has been written. I would hope that even more will be said and written about Vietnam, for full and open discussion is the very heart of American democracy.

I have just finished reading a fictional diary written by Miss Eileen "Scotty" Wells, a sixth-grade student at the Frank G. Lindsey Elementary School in Montrose, N.Y. This was done as part of a project assigned by Mr. Joseph W. Hoff, who teaches the sixth grade at the school. The assignment was to "visit" a country which the class had studied during the year, and discuss your "experiences."

Miss Wells, who incidentally, is 11 years old, wrote her "diary" from the viewpoint of a Peace Corps nurse serving in Vietnam. Her report shows not only a maturity of thought and thoroughness of research, but a genuine compassion for a strange and distant people that certainly is unusual in one of such tender years.

Mr. Speaker, Eileen's "diary" would be a fine achievement for a student far more advanced in his education. I feel it is worthy of wider distribution than it

would otherwise have and submit it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

ONE YEAR DIARY: "ONE OF THE MOST WONDERFUL AND SATISFYING YEARS I'VE EVER SPENT"

FEBRUARY 24, 1964.

DEAR DIARY: To start off with, I think I'd better apologize for not having "talked" with you in a long time. I guess I've neglected a lot of things I'd planned to do when I arrived in Vietnam. I planned to keep an up-to-date record on what I saw and did, but it seems I've been too busy to accomplish this. In fact, as you probably recall, I haven't written you in over a month.

You know, I realized something when I came over here. I am a poor American citizen. I read the papers and listened to the news every day, and did everything I thought was expected of a good citizen, but deep inside I knew that in a way I could be wrong. I soon decided that as an American, a fortunate American, I should do something else. I also knew that many people did not realize this, and as one of the few who did I felt that it was my job to do something about it, so I did. As a nurse, I joined the Peace Corps.

My family didn't seem to understand my actions.

"Why do you want to do this?"

"You've got everything and more than most people, so what is it you want?"

"I want," I said, smiling in a serious, thoughtful way, "the satisfaction of knowing that I've helped someone less fortunate than myself."

Yes, in the first year I've spent in South Vietnam I've been very busy, but it's been a happy kind of busy I'll always remember and treasure.

APRIL 13, 1964.

DEAR DIARY: Today, April 13, 1964, the town of Baria was attacked by Vietcong guerrillas. Being a rather large town (compared to most Vietnam towns) some soldiers were assigned to protect it. However, a few soldiers could do little to protect the people.

It was late at night, and most of the people had retired to bed after a long day of hard work. There was a deadly silence as these men crept slowly closer to the town.

Things seemed to be like that of any other night, and nobody suspected a thing.

Suddenly a shot rang out with more to follow. Ruts were set on fire with innocent people dying. Then just as quietly as they had come they disappeared, leaving this part of the town in ruin.

It was then that I was sent, from the hospital in Saigon, to this town, equipped with supplies, and the urge to help these people.

I arrived as dawn was approaching. Seeing what was left of this particular section which had been attacked, the scattered ruins of the huts, I hurried toward a hut which was serving as a hospital. Stepping inside I found that many patients had already been cared for, and to my relief, were coming along fine. I noticed that one doctor seemed to be running things, so I explained to him that I was a member of the Peace Corps, and as a nurse I traveled from town to town, caring for the people. I also told him that I was sent here to see what I could do. His thick, bushy eyebrows raised a bit as he scratched his head. I noticed he was also from America, but before I could question him he said: "As you probably noticed, we have things pretty well under control, but I'd be thankful if you'd give Son his injection."

He then pointed to a young boy, one of the soldiers. He was a fairly short boy with light skin. He had dark hair and high cheekbones, which I've noticed on many, if not all Vietnamese. In appearance they're much like the Chinese.

"Oh," the doctor continued, "and if you could watch him tonight I'd be thankful,

because he's got quite a high fever." He then turned around muttering what a shame it was, and stalked off.

As I gave the injection to him I noticed a look of anger in his eyes, and his lips were moving as if he were muttering something. After wiping his forehead with a damp cloth, I sat down to study him more closely. However, before I could do much studying he began to toss and turn. I could see the sweat rolling down his face and the veins in his hands popped out as he clenched his fists, but before I could reach him he turned, facing me and yelled,

"They're doing it to us again! They won't give us peace! Those red devils will keep fighting till they've got everything! everything—"

These words trailed off into an empty silence. Wiping his forehead once more, he seemed to have regained his senses, and calmly opened his eyes saying with a reassuring look, "But we will never let them." He then told me an amazing and impressive story which I will now reveal to you, as was told me:

"My full name is Zuat Chi Son in Vietnam your first name is last, and your last name is first. I was originally born in North Vietnam and lived there the first 12 years of my life. As you probably know, Vietnam before being divided was a colony of France. However many Vietnamese rebelled, not liking the idea of being owned. They wanted independence. The Communists saw a good chance to win the country by taking over its fight for independence. Though the French had more supplies and a bigger army, the Communists, using guerrilla warfare, had a good, if not better chance. They knew the jungles and would attack the French, then would disappear into the jungles and swamps where the French could not find them. Finally the French were defeated by the Communists and were forced to give up Vietnam. The Communists asked for the northern half, and got it. (This was how Vietnam got divided.) They figured the southern half (South Vietnam) would soon weaken and fall into their hands, but they were mistaken.

"I was living in North Vietnam at this time. My family and the other families in our village had been hearing rumors. One of the rumors was that the refugees who had attempted to flee North Vietnam had been treated cruelly and had been separated from their families. This was just a rumor, and as we learned later, designed to scare us."

Here Son closed his eyes and thought for a minute as I wiped his forehead. Soon he opened his eyes again, smiled a thankful smile and went on.

"Our town was then visited by an old Catholic priest, who had traveled around the country telling people, as he told us—the truth. He explained to us that the rumors we heard were just started by the Communists to scare us."

He also said that the Communists were bad but the rulers must be obeyed, for those who disobeyed mysteriously disappeared.

"We didn't like the idea of being assigned a piece of land and having to give half of our crops to the Government. A single careless word, we learned, would cost a man his life. There were spies everywhere."

"The priest then informed us that if we chose, we could go with the other refugees to South Vietnam. The priest brought us to a U.S. Navy ship which would carry us to freedom."

"We arrived at the capital city of Saigon 4 days later. We were brought from there to a huge warehouse where other refugees were staying. We were fed by smiling cheerful people, carrying huge kettles filled with hot food, which seemed to taste better than any other food we ever had."

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"I wondered how the Government could afford to feed these hundreds of people. Where would it find work for all?"

"The Mecong Delta, I should tell you before I go on, was, before the war, a great rice producing piece of land. It fed the people of South Vietnam, leaving enough surplus to export and trade for manufactured goods which South Vietnam so much needed. However, during the war this fertile land became a tangled jungle. Canals were destroyed. What was called the Bink Xugen River Pirates lived there and would not give up the land which they believed was theirs. However, it was not. Diem, who ruled South Vietnam at that time, was determined to wipe out the crime from which they made their living.

"So, there was a battle. It was a long, hard battle. Some of the officers were traitors and deceived Diem, but other determined young officers replaced them, fought the pirate war and won it.

"After this war, when Diem was democratically elected, he decided he'd try to solve South Vietnam's food challenge by attempting to open the Mecong Delta. He made a speech to us, saying he would give each of us seven and a half acres of land to farm. However, we would all have to pitch in and help change this jungle into good productive land. Canals also had to be dug, and it would be hard work, but it would be worth it. The enthusiasm was great, and I believe I clapped the hardest.

"This job was very hard, but we were determined, and accomplished it with great success. No longer was food a problem in South Vietnam. Slowly we are becoming a strong nation, but they are trying to stop us."

He stopped and wiped a tear from his eye, then reassuringly said:

"But they can't and they won't take our freedom away." With those last words his eyes slowly closed, and I realized how much I really believed him.

JUNE 29, 1964.

DEAR DIARY: Today was a very enjoyable day for me. I paid a visit to a charming couple and equally charming home in a town called Thong, as small a town as there is on the outskirts of Saigon. Most of the towns I've previously visited have had about 1,000 people, but this village has a total of 523 people—rather small, compared to our towns. Most of the people had lived there all their lives. I've found that Vietnamese do not like to leave their bamboo thatch houses even to move into new ones.

They seemed very glad to see me again. I had sometime last year cared for their son, who had been ill. I had grown to love his family as I had so many other families in Vietnam. So, when I found out I would be passing this town, I decided to pay a short visit.

As I mentioned before, they seemed glad to see me, almost as glad as I was to see them. They asked me at once to have supper with them. At first I hesitated, but seeing the delicious rice cakes, fresh corn and beans, I hungrily accepted. Sitting down I inquired how their son was.

"Fine, indeed, but I'm sure he'll regret the fact that he wasn't here to see you."

"By the way," her husband Huy broke in, "how have you enjoyed your stay in Vietnam?"

"It has been a new and wonderful world that I discovered when I came over here. Yes, I am enjoying it." I answered with enthusiasm.

Then thinking for a minute I decided to tell the story that Son, the young soldier had told me. When I finished Ming said, "You will find that we Vietnamese know a great deal about the history of our country."

Here she took a mouthful of corn and continued, "because our ancestors experienced it and passed down stories which have been told and retold."

"Ah," I sighed, "I'm very ashamed to admit I know very little about the history of Vietnam."

"Well then," Huy told me, "I'll give you a general background, skipping over the stories." So, he began.

"My ancestors were originally Chinese because China ruled Vietnam for over 1,000 years. Naturally the Vietnamese adopted many Chinese customs. However, in the 10th century we gained independence and began to conquer neighboring countries to the south. By the 18th century Vietnam controlled down as far as the Mecong Delta. This and an additional piece of land, continuing farther down is now South Vietnam, as you probably know," he said smiling.

"At that time Vietnam was ruled by an emperor, but actually the real power was held by two families, one controlling the north and one the south. However, a prince, from one of the two families became emperor of the country, with the help of a French missionary. When in power he was kind to France, but the rulers who followed were not. So in 1883 France got sick of this and when they decided they wanted a colony in southern Asia they quickly found a reason to send an army against Vietnam, and soon all of Vietnam was under French control. Vietnam was struggling for freedom. However, during World War II the Japanese occupied it, but they were defeated after the war, and France once again tried to rule Vietnam, but were faced with a country led by Communists. The rest your young soldier friend told you."

Ming continued, "Our government is not very strong, as yet. Diem was overthrown and others who followed experienced much the same thing. I feel the reason for this is very simple. We are not quite sure of ourselves yet. We have the ambition and the makings of a good country, but we are still young and just learning how to walk, but someday—just someday."

A dreamy look came into her eyes. "Yes, we will become a strong nation."

I only hope she was right and that this small country can have better luck in the future than it has had previously.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1964.

DEAR DIARY: Did you know that when the French controlled Vietnam about one out of a hundred children attended school? Well, I didn't, until yesterday, but I also learned that since 1954 South Vietnam has worked hard to give more people an opportunity to get an education. Adults who never learned to read are now attending night schools. Now, nine-tenths of the people can read and write. Isn't that a helpful way in clearing a path toward making Vietnam a stronger, finer country? I certainly think it is.

I guess you're wondering where I picked up this information? I learned it from a teacher. You see, I was assigned to vaccinate the children in the town of Zuoi. When I arrived, through the rain, at this small but neatly kept school, I quickly ran in to get shelter from the cold rain. Since this was a small town, it was just a small school. The teacher was a young, inspiring woman, who in my opinion was a fine teacher.

When I stepped into the classroom, soaking wet, she asked the class to excuse her, and briskly walked back to me, telling me to sit down in front of the stove and get warm. After following her orders I was informed that she had already explained to the class the purpose of this vaccination, and had told them that there was nothing to fear. After

hearing this each child slowly stepped up as it was his turn. There was a frightened look in each child's eyes. I gave them a comforting smile and they returned it, but rather weakly, unsure of what would happen next.

When I was through and about to leave, I was asked by the class and the teacher to stay for a few minutes. Not wanting to be rude, I stayed, (though I really wanted to.)

The teacher was giving a lesson on the Government of South Vietnam. I must admit I learned something, but this is not at all strange since I knew very little about the subject.

"After South Vietnam," she began, "had gained independence, a constitution was adopted. This constitution provided for an elected president and also an elected assembly. However, when Diem was president the elections were not held in a democratic fashion, but were controlled. The people realized this and did not think it was right, so in 1963 Diem was overthrown. The constitution was suspended and a government run by a military council was started."

Here she paused, and asked if there were any questions, and there were—many!

I realized how late it was, and knew that I had better leave. Getting up I thanked the children and once again stepped out into the rain.

I now recall the eager look in each child's face as the teacher was talking. They seemed to want to learn, and were so interested in what they learned. I now realize that those children are the future of Vietnam.

NOVEMBER 27, 1964.

DEAR DIARY: This is just a short note to tell you about a little experience I had today. I was called upon to visit a family who were in great need of help. There was sickness in their house and one of the children had already died. Visiting this home and village I found both were poverty stricken. It was a very poor house with very little food. I cared for them as best I could, but I didn't see much hope.

They happened to live in the northern part of South Vietnam where there are many forests. Vietnam's warm, wet climate is ideal for growing trees.

I see the only way to solve this poverty problem is to modernize. To try to help the people help themselves would do ever so much good. The people must be raised to a higher living standard.

Some main resources in South Vietnam are fishing, lumbering, waterpower, and minerals. If it was possible to raise and modernize the living standards of the people this poverty would stop. For example, a fisherman, lumberman, miner, or farmer all do things the hard, old way. We should try to lessen the poverty by showing them the easier, healthier, and better way. This would be a fine way to make South Vietnam a stronger and happier country.

JANUARY 13, 1965.

DEAR DIARY: Today I worked in a village on the Mecong Delta called Thuan. This delta produces enough rice to feed the whole country, with surplus enough to export to other countries. I was sent here to give the people shots to prevent polio. At first the people didn't understand the purpose of these shots, and as with other new ideas it took them awhile to get accustomed, and to understand the reason.

I stayed in that particular village for approximately 1 week, and lived with the people. I lived with the Hun family. There were six members in the family: Sing, the gentle but strong mother, Ho, the wise father who always seemed to be worried but who, when problems arose handled them with ease, Lang, the 13-year-old daughter who took after her mother but lacked her strength, Chi, the 16-year-old boy who was the second man of the house, Phang, the

10-year-old independent of the family and Kon, the 15-year-old boy who preferred books to working in the field.

Like most of the other families on the Mecong Delta, the Huns' main crop was rice. The reason for this is that the delta provides the special conditions rice needs to grow. To better explain this I'll mention the steps involved in planting, raising, and harvesting rice.

In the spring the Mecong River floods the land. Then, as the water slowly recedes, farmers plant small rice seedlings in the swampy earth. All summer long the rice grows with the hot sun shining down upon it. After 1 month of rain it is ready to be harvested.

The Huns are a fine, hard-working family. That is the impression I got while staying there. Up at dawn, they'd rush through a quick breakfast, then would at once begin to work. Ho, Chi, Kon, and Phang would head for the fields while Lang and her mother would work, as we say, "around the house."

Today happened to be the last day I was expected to work in the village. However, I had already finished my work so I decided to spend my remaining day living and working with the Huns; but today, as I soon discovered was not a normal day but "market day."

The marketplace was a small village up the river, where the people would come and trade their products for things they themselves did not produce.

The family boarded a small boat which they had acquired for just such a purpose and began the rather short journey up the river. They had with them goods which they planned to trade. We soon reached our destination.

I found myself very interested in watching the manner in which these people traded. They were very careful, and traded only when they thought it was a good and a fair deal. The Hun family seemed quite expert at this and traded rice, woven, and hand-made goods. They, in turn received food and goods which they did not grow, such as corn, potatoes, rubber, beans, sugarcane, tea, and coconuts. They also received some dried fish which they certainly could use. These crops, I learned later, were grown either on the valley along the coast, the Mecong Delta, or the highland region, extending down the central part of South Vietnam.

Lang seemed overwhelmed when she got 73 pastres (\$1) for a woven cloth she had made. Marketing and trading seem very important to these people.

The family was quite happy and satisfied as we slowly drifted toward home. As we approached their hut I pointed to the bamboo framework of some sort of building. He informed me that this was a new church under construction.

"Of course it is a Buddhist church, since most of the people in this town are Buddhists. But many of the other towns are a variety of different religions, such as Taoism, Confucianism, Christianity, Cao daism, and Hao Hao. Ancestor worship is also practiced. Many of these religions are a combination of others. There has been much misunderstanding and trouble between the Christians and Buddhists."

Here he paused, staring blankly into the horizon. Changing the subject, I asked him why everyone seemed to travel by water.

"That is simple," he said, shaking his head, "roads are very expensive to build and keep in good order. Besides, the land these roads would take up could better be used for productive land. That is why we have so many canals. If we want to go visiting, we just get into our boats. Although the main source of travel is water, many people in Vietnam travel differently. Some walk or ride bicy-

cles. Railroads and roads are important also, but in the Mecong Delta water transportation is the most important and useful.

"I see," I said, smiling to myself as we pulled up to their familiar hut. "This has been such an interesting and exciting day. I'd like to thank you."

Yes, it was one of the most pleasant and enjoyable days I've spent here, but amid the fun, one in which I thought a good deal.

FEBRUARY 24, 1965.

DEAR DIARY: I am writing to you from a small bamboo hut. Tomorrow I am to be picked up and brought to the airport, where I will leave for home. It has been 2 years since I first set foot in this amazing little country. Little did I know how sad I would be to leave it. Little did I know that a small country like Vietnam could so change my way of thinking, that it could make me a completely different person—a better person.

I now know how much a big strong country like the United States could learn from a little country like Vietnam.

FEDERAL WATER PROJECT RECREATION ACT

(Mr. GRABOWSKI (at the request of Mr. FARNLEY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the end of World War II, a growing need of recreation values has been recognized in water resource project reports. However, we have not had a general policy to guide and limit us as to the extent to which the Federal Government would bear a part of the cost of a water resource project that helps make possible recreation benefits.

Such a general policy will be provided by H.R. 5269 as it was passed by the House yesterday.

H.R. 5269 will provide uniform rules for the treatment of recreation and fish and wildlife benefits and costs in connection with Federal water resource projects of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. This act contains numerous provisions, with some of the more important ones including:

First. Full consideration is to be given to recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement as project purposes on Federal projects and general cost-sharing and reimbursement policy for these purposes is established.

Second. Planning with respect to the recreational potential of any project also is to be coordinated with existing and planned Federal, State, and local public recreation developments.

Third. Federal agencies are directed to encourage non-Federal administration of the recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement features of most Federal water projects. H.R. 5269 is, in this way, complementary to the Land and Water Conservation Act of 1965. Both Federal and non-Federal responsibilities are recognized.

In addition, the Secretary of the Interior is given general authority to develop the recreational potential at projects under his control.

For some time Federal water resource projects have been providing opportunities for an increasing number of visitor-

days of outdoor recreation for the American people. However, all indications are that there will be a further growth in public interest in water-associated recreation in the years ahead. The difficult policy question which we here in the Congress have faced in connection with the consideration of water projects has been to determine to what extent and under what conditions the Federal Government should include recreational development as a part of Federal multiple-purpose water projects. During the last several Congresses, this question has been dealt with in various ways in connection with individual project authorizations to the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers. This has resulted in inconsistencies among projects and differences in agency procedures.

We know that the demand for outdoor recreation opportunities has been increasing rapidly in more recent years and that the needs are expected to continue rapidly expanding in the years ahead as our population and available leisure time increases. Records for 1964 indicate nearly 160 million visits to Federal reservoirs exclusive of those administered by the National Park Service and the Forest Service.

We know that water, in addition to providing for popular water-based recreational activities such as swimming, boating, and fishing, also makes more enjoyable land-based recreational activities such as picnicking and camping. In many sections of our country, water-oriented recreation is dependent upon Federal water development projects, and this has resulted in the general recognition that outdoor recreation should be given full consideration along with other project purposes in the formulation and management of such projects. If outdoor recreation is to be considered fully and properly included in water projects, then general policies, particularly cost-sharing and reimbursement policies, need to be adopted for the treatment of recreation and of fish and wildlife values. These policies should provide uniform procedures to be followed by the agencies concerned and provide equitable treatment to all projects.

H.R. 5269 is intended to meet this need and to insure optimum development and use of the recreational and related resource enhancement opportunities in any given project area. In the interest of achieving a desirable balance in the overall recreation program, this legislation requires the recreational aspects of water projects to be coordinated with State, regional, as well as national plans. It also encourages non-Federal public bodies to assume responsibility for management and additional development of recreational areas and facilities.

This legislation will be of major assistance in the provision of water-oriented recreation opportunities for the American people and will bring much-needed consistency to the handling of recreation and fish and wildlife as part of Federal multiple purpose water resource projects.

I am fully in favor of H.R. 5296.

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NEW YORK CITY IN CRISIS—
PART LXXX

(Mr. MULTER (at the request of Mr. FARNSELY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the New York Herald Tribune of March 27, 1965 concerning the effort to bring much-needed blue-collar jobs to New York City.

The article is part of the series on "New York City in Crisis" and follows:
NEW YORK CITY IN CRISIS—JOBS: JERSEY'S
LOSS IS BROOKLYN'S GAIN
(By Barrett McGurn)

The struggle to keep needed blue-collar jobs in the city reached a turning point yesterday.

Louis Broido, commissioner for commerce and industrial development, dedicated the first factory to move into the five boroughs under the State's \$100 million industrial aid program.

The ceremony was the climax to a bizarre battle during which the plant had to fight, in effect, for an "exit permit" from a New Jersey town.

The factory is Reliable Sample Card, Inc., of 30 Sandford Street in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn not far from the doomed New York Navy Yard. The company's plant employing 125 people on a regular basis and another 50 seasonally has been shut down at Wanaque, N.J. The New Jersey workers have lost their jobs. Brooklynites will get the work instead. The tasks are unskilled, paying about \$1.50 per hour, just the sort of employment so many untrained Negroes and Puerto Ricans of the navy yard area are seeking.

The phrase "exit permit" cropped up in violent conversations between Irving Warsoff, president of Reliable, and the authorities of Wanaque. Mr. Warsoff, who already has from 125 to 275 Sandford Street employees on a year-round basis, decided to combine operations inside the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood for one main reason. Unemployment there guarantees a labor pool. A \$300,000 State loan enabling him to more than double the size of his Brooklyn operation was the clincher.

Then, the Wanaque fireworks began.

"They put an unmarked police car in front of our factory to prevent us from moving out equipment," company representatives said yesterday.

"You have no exit permit," Wanaque said in effect.

"What's an exit permit?" the Reliable people demanded.

Tiny Wanaque (population 10,000) explained unhappily. Reliable's year's taxes of \$3,000 would not be due until next month but "they're automatically payable at once if you move out." Factory equipment could move until taxes were paid.

Anyway, the taxes weren't \$3,000 anymore. Wanaque had decided that Reliable's machines and other equipment were not worth mere \$100,000 as previously appraised, but rather a whopping \$230,000. That meant that next month's tax would be \$10,000. And for "late filing" there'd be a charge of another \$2,500, or \$12,500 in all. Otherwise no "moving permit," no transfer of any Wanaque machinery to Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Many a hot word was exchanged until the present agreement. Three thousand dollars in taxes will be paid now and the rest of the \$12,500 will be left in escrow in a local lawyer's hands but Reliable won't hand the difference to Wanaque Township even "under protest."

"If they get their clammy hands on that \$9,500 . . ." company spokesmen shook their heads in dismay at the very thought.

Reliable hopes to get all its Wanaque equipment to Brooklyn within a week. Commissioner Broido cut the plant ribbon yesterday. This is a feather in his cap as he tries to convince the Committee of 14, representing New York business, that they should collaborate with his industrial development corporation in seeking to save factory jobs.

NEW YORK CITY IN CRISIS—PART
LXXI

(Mr. MULTER (at the request of Mr. FARNSELY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article concerns one of the neighborhood renewal plans in New York and is part of the series on "New York City in Crisis."

The article appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on March 28, 1965, and follows:

NEW YORK CITY IN CRISIS—BATTLE OF MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS: BUREAUCRACIES VERSUS FAMILIES

(By James Lynn)

"We do not accept the idea that the eradication of slums in any area is accomplished by the relocation of the majority of its low-income residents."

The speaker was Aramis Gomez, of the Puerto Rican Citizens Committee on Housing; the scene, city hall during a board of estimate hearing earlier this month on the Morningside General Neighborhood Renewal Plan.

For hundreds of families on Morningside Heights, relocation is a present threat, not a distant prospect. Not all of them are slum families, or even low-income families, and their determination to stay where they are is the foundation on which much of the opposition to the Morningside GNRP has been built.

So far these families have lost most of their battles with the big institutional landlords on the Heights: Columbia University and its affiliates, St. Luke's Hospital, and the other members of the real estate combine called Remedco Corp.

But the battles so far have been little more than skirmishes, and since that board of estimate hearing on March 11 there have been unmistakable signs that the institutions may win them all and still lose the war of town and gown.

SAFEGUARDS

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Manhattan's new borough president, made it quite clear at the hearing that she wants firm safeguards in the GNRP against the possibility that poor Negroes and Puerto Ricans will be turned out of their homes to make a middle-class white enclave on the Heights.

Alone among the members of the board of estimate, Mrs. Motley sat through virtually all the speeches at the hearing. Several times she cross-examined supporters of the renewal plan to find out what protection it would give tenants who might have to be relocated if it goes into effect.

The answers she got didn't seem to satisfy her. She asked the board to postpone a decision on the GNRP until its April 22 meeting. Since then her staff has been looking into the various changes different interests have recommended in the plan.

The city's housing and redevelopment board defines a general neighborhood renewal plan as "a preliminary plan outlining proposed urban renewal activities in an area of such scope that renewal activities must

be initiated in a series of projects over an extended period of time up to 10 years."

Morningside's plan certainly fits that definition. It includes no less than five proposed urban renewal projects in a 92-block area stretching from 100th Street to 125th Street between Eighth Avenue and Riverside Drive. One of the projects, broken into two phases, is already in the detailed planning stage. A preliminary plan for the second is in preparation.

Some people are against the GNRP for reasons that have become rather commonplace in New York City in the 1960's. They object to urban renewal because it would mean the demolition of a community—in this case a community whose residents cover a wide band of the racial and economic spectrum.

To these people a GNRP is bad because urban renewal is bad—wasteful, degrading, and, worst of all, not even successful in its own limited terms. Any GNRP—and New York's only other one is now in a rather tentative state—would meet with the same objections from them.

ARGUMENT

Far more interesting are those people who see the need for urban restoration in general and are willing to admit that the need exists on Morningside Heights, but oppose the GNRP as it now stands on grounds as unique as the Morningside plan itself.

Their argument runs like this: Eviction is bad enough even when its cushioned by all the relocation services and payments the law requires in urban renewal projects supported by Federal funds. But right at the core of the Morningside GNRP area are 14 blocks that are excluded from the plan and its relocation benefits.

These 14 blocks are directly north, east, and south of Columbia, and 11 of them are marked for residential and/or institutional use on the proposed land-use map attached to the GNRP. Two more are flatly marked "Institutional"; only one is "Predominantly Residential."

Franz S. Leichter, the Seventh Assembly District's reform Democratic leader, told the board of estimate that "the practical effect, if not the purpose" of the exclusion "was to give the institutions carte blanche to expand into these excluded areas which just happen to border the institutional core."

The institutions are definitely expanding, which means people are losing their homes. Some of the buildings they are being forced out of are in terrible shape, but as William Stanley, of the Uptown Tenants Council, told the board of estimate, "As bad as it is, we want to keep it until we get something better."

Some of the other buildings under pressure are in perfectly good condition. One of them is actually being taken over by St. Luke's Hospital for use by nurses and other personnel as old tenants are pressured to get out.

On the Heights right now, there are eight sites where tenants are already under the threat of eviction. These tenants are wondering when their turn will come or if, at best, they will be allowed to stay on the sufferance of an institutional landlord who obviously would like to be rid of them as soon as possible.

1. Jewish Theological Seminary: In the back-to-back buildings at 531 West 122d Street and 540 West 123d, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America has served notice that it wants the tenants out by the end of the year. Only 156 of the 212 apartments are occupied; a handful are used for offices and the rest have been allowed to stand vacant.

The seminary, on the east side of Broadway between 122d and 123d Streets, wants to build a library and a small dormitory just east of its present quarters. The buildings it would tear down next year are something of an architectural curiosity: walkups with open stairways in their courtyards.

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their testimony, similar to that which I have presented throughout the course of the hearings, may appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. These have appeared on each day of the testimony by public witnesses, with exception of the first day, which I intend to offer tomorrow in order to make the record complete.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM DIRECTORS
DR. WILLIAM CAMP

Commissioner of mental health, Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare.

1. For the mentally ill and retarded this is a landmark bill, especially for removing exclusion of public mental hospitals as recipients of Federal old age assistance benefits for treatment of the aged.

2. Recommended deletion of the exclusion in definition of "hospital" of one which is primarily for treatment of mental diseases. There is limited coverage in the voluntary section of the bill, but the basic hospital protection is discriminatory without mental hospital inclusion.

3. The mentally ill aged can be successfully treated and restored to families, often quickly. Experience of Louisiana, Oklahoma, North Carolina, and Missouri was cited.

4. Needed intensive treatment in State mental hospital programs can be provided for \$17 per day. There are 27,000 new admissions annually to State mental hospitals among the over-65. At average 44-day stay, total cost would be \$20 million, but because of the "accredited" hospital requirement (covering 85 public mental hospitals), this would be closer to \$10 million, "not an excessive addition to the hospital insurance program."

VINCENT W. ARCHER, M.D.

Radiologist, Charlottesville, Va.; former president, American College of Radiology; speaking as an individual. Retired chairman, radiology, University of Virginia.

1. Radiology is a medical specialty of increasing complexity.

2. Profession is increasing by only about 300 per year, less than the need. To make the specialty less desirable will deter new recruitment.

3. Radiologists should not be included under hospital services but retained with other doctors in the voluntary portion of the bill.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

WILLIAM A. CALLAHAN, PRESIDENT

Association of State, Canadian, and other workmen's compensation boards and commissions.

1. Association by membership vote, has opposed the encroachment of social security in to the field of workmen's compensation.

2. Asks deletion of section 303 portion redefining disability; or amendment to eliminate application of provisions to workmen's compensation claimants.

3. There is already overlap in payments of workmen's compensation and social security disability benefits. This section will increase it, will nullify rehabilitation efforts, will decrease safety program incentives by requiring level payments of all employers rather than reduced rates as reward for good experience.

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

FRANK BANE, CHAIRMAN

Commission of 26 members (bipartisan) created by 86th Congress.

1. Commission report, May 1964, made five recommendations in public assistance titles; first two are in the bill. Urge their retention.

2. Urge also incorporation of the other three, embodied in H.R. 6241: (1) permitting waiver of the "single State agency" requirement; (2) giving Secretary discretion to withhold payments "only for those parts of a State plan not in conformity"; (3) establishing a permanent Public Assistance Advisory Council.

3. Judicial review provisions are desirable.

4. Recommend removal of restrictions preventing Federal matching for mental and tubercular patients, in special hospitals rather than only up to 42 days in general hospitals.

E. PAUL BARNHART

Independent health insurance actuary, St. Louis, Mo.

1. Amendment should be made because of bill's attack on legal rights and contractual equities in insurance contracts now in force.

2. Supplementary plan should be deleted; instead, should provide option of continuing voluntary plan in lieu of Federal benefit coverage—still paying the tax, but receiving a subsidy toward premium payments after age 65, equivalent to the value of the benefits under the Federal plan.

RALPH P. COLEMAN

President, Review Publishing Co. (financial periodicals) and of Review Management Corp. (investment trust manager).

1. Cost components are utterly incalculable, a situation laden with the seeds of financial disaster.

2. Too much power is concentrated in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Health Insurance Benefits Advisory Council and National Medical Review Committee should have automatic membership from such groups as American Medical Association and American Hospital Association.

DANGER OF MISCALCULATION IN
VIETNAM

MR. PROXMIER. Mr. President, the administration has made every effort to end the fighting in Vietnam and lay the groundwork for negotiations leading to a peaceful settlement. Each of President Johnson's efforts has been rebuffed, including the recent cessation of bombing raids on North Vietnam.

The fact that President Johnson has shown a genuine desire to implement a cease-fire so that negotiations can begin should not be interpreted as a sign of weakness or lack of will to continue in the defense of South Vietnam, however.

The danger of such a miscalculation is spelled out vividly in an article by James Reston, which appeared in today's New York Times. Mr. Reston details the President's efforts to end the fighting in Vietnam, then warns that such efforts should not be mistaken for weakness on the part of the administration. And he aptly points out that because Hanoi failed to take advantage of the pause in the bombings, the battle will probably get worse before the President will consider another such pause.

I ask for unanimous consent to insert the article at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON: THE DANGER OF MISCALCULATION IN VIETNAM

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON.—The danger now in Vietnam is that the Communists will miscalculate

the character and psychology of President Johnson.

The pro-Chinese elements, who are now reported to have the greatest influence over the North Vietnamese Government, have let the pause in the bombing go by without responding to President Johnson's public and private efforts to start negotiations. And they are apparently operating on the assumption that the strategy and tactics they used to defeat the French there in 1954 will succeed again against the United States.

It is a risky assumption. They may be able to bring the war to a critical battle on the ground, as their same general, Vo Nguyen Giap, did in the conquest of the French at Dienbienphu in 1954, but the balance and location of power are now quite different.

THE FALSE ANALOGIES

The American forces are not trapped in the encircling hills of a Dienbienphu. They are concentrated on the coast with easy access to the sea. Even if the American land airfields were knocked out, as the French airfields were neutralized at Dienbienphu, the United States has more power on its aircraft carriers off the coast than both sides could command in the decisive battle against the French 11 years ago.

The Communist hope of a quick and decisive victory during the period of the monsoon rains requires the destruction of the American command, and nothing could be further removed from Lyndon Johnson's Texas frontier psychology than to tolerate such a disaster, no matter what weapons he had to employ to avoid it. This is the danger of any such Communist miscalculation.

It is conceivable that the United States could be invited out by the South Vietnamese, or negotiated out at an international conference, or even worn out in a protracted war, but to be thrown out is the one thing that is least likely under Johnson, and any attempt to throw him out of Vietnam would only unify the Nation behind him.

JOHNSON'S INITIATIVES

He believes he has now tried to meet every honorable proposal for a negotiated accommodation, and every military restraint short of nonresistance or ineffective resistance.

He tried to hold the line with a few thousand noncombatant advisers. It didn't work. He let the advisers fire when they were fired on. He tried limited retaliatory force for attacks on American ships in the Gulf of Tonkin, then retaliation for attacks only on American bases on land, and then retaliatory attacks for Vietcong raids on the South Vietnamese.

He tried not going beyond the 17th parallel into North Vietnam. Then he tried going north, first to hit military targets and then subsidiary transportation targets; and at the private urging of the Russians, the British, the Japanese and influential citizens at home, he stopped the bombing temporarily and at the same time urged negotiations both publicly and privately, through the Canadians.

The lack of any positive response from Hanoi does not mean that Washington will now order any dramatic increase in the severity of the bombing, but it will go on for a time, and there will then probably be another pause and another call for negotiations.

Meanwhile, the North Vietnamese apparently believe they are still winning and will probably have a go at the U.S. forces on the ground, and this is their dilemma. For every success they have on the ground will cost them at least double in retaliatory strikes from the air until they agree to talk.

This is the policy of the U.S. Government, so far as it can be ascertained. It does not aim at the destruction of North Vietnam or at any change in the social or political structure of the North Vietnamese regime.

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SELF-DETERMINATION

It implies the right of self-determination for the South Vietnamese, even the right to create a coalition government with the Communists if they so desire, though Washington certainly does not desire this.

In the view of this Government, this suggests concessions of free elections that previous U.S. Governments were not prepared to risk, but the silence of Hanoi and the savage opposition of Peiping to any talks have only convinced the Johnson administration that these offers plus the pause in the bombing were merely interpreted in Hanoi as signs of weakness in Washington.

Accordingly, the bombing has started again, and the battle will probably get worse before the President decides on another pause and another opportunity to talk about peace.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY RIGHTS

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, there has been some discussion during the past couple of years about the President's patent memorandum of October 1963. One Member of the other body has even attempted to substitute it for the Long amendment in the Appalachian bill. Fortunately, this attempt was frustrated by the good sense of the House.

The Long amendment is clear and definite, and its widespread adoption will result in the type of policy which would strengthen our economy by insuring that the fruits of publicly financed research and development are made available not to just one company but to all of industry. It would mean that an enterprising citizen in Montana, Alabama, Mississippi, or Arkansas would be able to use a process or produce a commodity developed with the public's money without paying tribute in the form of royalties to those who have acquired property rights as a result of securing a Government contract.

The patent memorandum of October 1963, on the other hand, is vague, indefinite, and can be interpreted in any way desired. It was designed to please everybody. The memorandum is so confusing that an official interpretation had to be formulated. And who were the official interpreters? Representatives from certain Government agencies got together and tried to figure out what it meant. This group, the Patent Advisory Panel, was under the chairmanship of Dr. William Eaton, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology in the Commerce Department, which, as one of its former high officials stated: "represents the point of view of business in the administration"—statement by Commissioner Ladd in Patents, Trademark, and Copyright Journal of Research and Education, volume 5, 1961, conference No. 49. Not to be outdone by anyone in his solicitude for special interest groups, Dr. Eaton announced "that he is receptive to industry's views in interpreting the memorandum—letter from Pharmaceutical Manufacturing Association to Dr. Donald Hornig, March 5, 1964, reprinted in hearings on Drug Safety, part 1, page 322, hearings before a subcommittee of Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, 64.

One of the leading lights of this group is Mr. David Z. Beckler, assistant to Dr. Hornig, who wrote the memorandum and

who is now running around, falling all over himself, trying to find cases which might justify giving away the Government's rights. Not only is he anxious to give away the public's property rights but he wants to do it before the Government even knows what it is giving away—inter-office memorandum from D. Beckler to Dr. Hornig, March 24, 1965. This is what industry wants and this is, of course, what the Commerce Department wants to do and has been doing for years.

During the course of its labors the Patent Advisory Panel found the memorandum so confusing that it came up with eight drafts. The first seven were so distorted and were such a blatant violation of the interests of the public that they could not stand the light of day. The eighth one met such vociferous opposition from the Department of Justice, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Federal Aviation Agency that the Federal Council for Science and Technology turned this one down, also. In spite of this, the Patent Advisory Panel issued it, anyhow.

The Justice Department stated that the so-called interpretation "is a distorted interpretation of the President's policy," and that "this Department can neither permit itself to comment on those aspects of the proposed interpretation that it believes depart from or unjustifiably expand the language and intent of the policy"—letter from Nicholas deB. Katzenbach to Dr. Donald F. Hornig, dated November 13, 1964.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare stated:

Our general objection to the proposed interpretation is founded upon its orientation in favor of the so-called license policy. We, in this Department, have not regarded the President's statement as one which is so favorably disposed toward a license policy. On the contrary, the thrust of the statement, and the President's memorandum transmitting it, in our opinion, is in the direction of the title policy. This view, incidentally, is also consistent with and is supported by congressional policy as expressed in the statutory patent provisions for the taking of title to inventions contained in the Atomic Energy Act, the NASA Act, the Water Desalinization Act, and the Coal Research and Development Act.¹

What the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is saying here is that it believes that the memorandum provides that the Government should normally acquire title on behalf of the American people to those inventions and discoveries which have been financed by public funds. The interpretation, on the other hand, takes the opposite view.

In addition, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare made 30 recommendations, which they considered a minimum effort, to make the interpretation more realistically consistent with the President's statement, but, I am sorry to say, not a single one—not a single one—was accepted by the Patent Advisory Board.

It seems pretty clear, Mr. President, that there is a group in the executive branch of the Government, unknown to the public, unknown even to Congress,

¹ Memorandum from Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to Dr. Hornig, chairman, Federal Council for Science and Technology, dated Oct. 26, 1964.

that is working day and night, trying to conjure up all kinds of reasons for giving away the public's property to special interest groups. This attempt has been going on for a long time. As far back as 1962 the Bureau of the Budget was circulating a draft of proposed legislation to accomplish this, but it became apparent that there was no agreement among the executive agencies. The Council of Economic Advisors protested. The Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission wrote strong letters of protest. The attempt to get legislation was finally abandoned because of expected opposition in the Congress, and the strategy was shifted to an Executive order, which was in turn changed to an executive memorandum.

The drafters of the memorandum wished to promulgate a policy which would encompass the whole Government, but they were warned by the Department of Justice that it was not legal and would fly in the face of congressional policy. Mr. Katzenbach, who was then the Deputy Attorney General, stated:

As you know, there are existing statutes controlling Government patent policy in specific fields of scientific endeavor, such as atomic energy, or the contracts let by specific agencies, such as NASA, which do not, in our view, permit such agencies or any agency contracting in such fields to grant exclusive rights to the research contractor, at the time of contracting in inventions produced by the contract. For this reason it is not legally possible to make the patent policy you describe a uniform one as to all Government agencies and all scientific fields, by Executive action. Moreover, I believe it would be inadvisable to attempt to reverse by such action the policies of administrative agencies which, pursuant to flexible statutory authority are presently retaining greater rights in such inventions than those contemplated by the proposed policy. Some agencies, such as the Post Office Department, presently retain title for the Government as to all research contracts; others, such as the National Science Foundation retain title to all contracts in a particular field; others such as HEW, require public dedication of certain inventions; and FAA has a unique policy of using invention rights to recover research costs.

We are not prepared to say, on the basis of any evidence brought to our attention, that such deviations from the proposed policy in the direction of greater rights for the general public, presently followed by numerous agencies, are unsound. This is particularly true where an agency has evolved such a practice in response to its own public service responsibilities. Since the Defense Department has no comparable responsibility it would be unfortunate to suggest that the proposed standards provide appropriate criteria for public service agencies.

It should also be borne in mind that the ultimate power in this field clearly resides in Congress and Congress has repeatedly chosen to exercise this power by acting upon principles sharply opposed to some of those embodied in the proposed policy.

As you know, this Department is on record with Congress as opposed to any legislative solution of this problem which would permit the granting of exclusive rights to the contractor when the contract is made. We have not been persuaded that this position is unsound.²

Senator RIBICOFF, who was at that time, Secretary of Health, Education, and

² Comments of Department of Justice on proposed statement of Government patent policy (May 29, 1962, draft).

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liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BASS], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], and the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTROYA], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTROYA], and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BASS].

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee would vote "yea," and the Senator from Georgia would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] are detained on official business.

The pair of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] has been previously announced.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON].

If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Kansas would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] is paired with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN].

If present and voting, the Senator from Kansas would vote "yea," and the Senator from Idaho would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON].

If present and voting, the Senator from Vermont would vote "yea," and the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 56, nays 25, as follows:

[No. 77 Leg.]
YEAS—56

Alken	Case	Hartke
Allott	Clark	Inouye
Anderson	Cooper	Jackson
Bartlett	Cotton	Javits
Bayh	Dodd	Kennedy, Mass.
Bible	Dominick	Kennedy, N.Y.
Boggs	Douglas	Kuchel
Brewster	Fong	Long, Mo.
Burdick	Gore	Magnuson
Byrd, W. Va.	Harris	McCarthy
Cannon	Hart	McGee

McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Morse
Morton

Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Saltonstall

Scott
Smith
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NAYS—25

Bennett
Byrd, Va.
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fulbright
Hickenlooper
Hill

Holland
Jordan, N.C.
Long, La.
McClellan
Mundt
Murphy
Robertson
Russell, S.C.
Smathers

Sparkman
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—19

Bass
Carlson
Church
Curtis
Dirksen
Gruening
Hayden

Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Mansfield
McNamara
Montoya
Neuberger

Pearson
Prouty
Ribicoff
Russell, Ga.
Simpson

So the amendments (No. 149) offered by Mr. FONG for himself and other Senators to the Mansfield-Dirksen substitute were agreed to.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendments were agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 176

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 176, which I jointly sponsor with my colleague the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CANNON in the chair). The amendment to the Mansfield-Dirksen substitute will be stated for the information of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(e) (1) Congress hereby declares that to secure the rights under the fourteenth amendment of persons educated in American-flag schools in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, it is necessary to prohibit the States from conditioning the right to vote of such persons on ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language.

(2) No person who demonstrates that he has successfully completed the sixth primary grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his inability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language, except that in States in which State law provides that a different level of education is presumptive of literacy, he shall demonstrate that he has successfully completed an equivalent level of education in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield to me, without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Montana.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am about to propound a unanimous-consent request. I believe an order is in that when the Senate completes its business today, it will stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow; is that not correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business tomorrow, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Friday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that there be a morning hour tomorrow to extend until no later than 12:30 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I also ask unanimous consent that there be 1 hour on the pending Kennedy-Javits amendment, to be equally divided, the time to be controlled by the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN]; the vote to be taken not later than 1:30.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement was subsequently reduced to writing, as follows:

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Ordered, That the Senate proceed to vote not later than 1:30 o'clock p.m. on Thursday, May 20, 1965, on amendment numbered 176 offered by the Senators from New York [Mr. KENNEDY and Mr. JAVITS], to the substitute amendment by Senators MANSFIELD and DIRKSEN, No. 124, as amended, for the bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Provided, That all time for debate after the transaction of routine morning business on Thursday, May 20, 1965, not to exceed 12:30 o'clock p.m., shall be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN].

Mr. MANSFIELD. Let me ask the Senator from New York if he is through?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Yes; I have completed my statement.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I seek recognition.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I support amendment No. 176, proposed by the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] which would amend the leadership substitute proposed by Senator DIRKSEN and myself.

Amendment No. 176 would prohibit denial of the right to vote in any election of any person because of his inability to speak or understand English, or to read or write in English, if he demonstrates successful completion of the sixth grade of any public or accredited private school in any State, territory, the District of

Columbia, or Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English. The effect of this amendment would be to enfranchise a good number of intelligent and literate persons of Puerto Rican origin.

The Senate will recall that in 1962 I supported such a proposal as this, indeed I cosponsored with the distinguished minority leader a bill (S. 2750) to prohibit the use of literacy tests as a qualification for voting in Federal elections for persons who had completed the sixth grade in a public school or accredited private school in the continental United States or in Puerto Rico. I believe that this provision is beyond a doubt constitutional. In testifying before a congressional committee on the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Attorney General, too, supported the constitutionality of a measure aimed at this problem.

There was no provision such as this in S. 1564 as introduced, nor was such a provision included in the Mansfield-Dirksen substitute. The reason is that until recently the Voting Rights Act was viewed as one directed solely at problems of race and grounded solely upon the 15th amendment. The Puerto Rico problem is not a racial problem and thus must be approached and dealt with on some other basis and pursuant to other constitutional powers. But the scope and purpose of S. 1564 has since been broadened by the inclusion of provisions to remove such other obstacles to the exercise of the franchise as poll taxes which may or may not be related to race and which are being dealt with under other powers in addition to the 15th amendment. Thus, it is now appropriate to further broaden the bill by adopting amendment No. 176, which is addressed to a problem of discrimination, although not of racial discrimination. This measure has been before us in past years—it is not a new concept—it is appropriate that we act on it in this bill.

THE TRAGIC INCIDENT AT BIEN HOA AIR BASE IN VIETNAM

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in the last week the United States has suffered a grievous and shocking loss. I refer to the tragic incident at the Bien Hoa Air Base in Vietnam. On May 14 one end of the airfield erupted in flame, smoke, and a series of concussions from bomb explosions. As a result of this incident the United States lost over a score of people killed and several score wounded. Twelve aircraft were completely destroyed and 36 damaged in varying degrees.

The initial reports flowing from our commanders in Vietnam state that the cause was not action by the enemy, but an accident—an accident believed traceable to either personnel or materiel present at the base.

The U.S. Air Force immediately sent its Inspector General, in company with a team of technical experts, to the scene in order that they might conduct a painstaking inquiry into all the circumstances involved in the tragedy and trace the cause to its source.

The Air Force investigation is now underway. It should and must develop

the facts to the extent they can be ascertained. Both the Congress and the public are entitled to know what caused this tragedy. More than this, the Air Force, as a fighting force, must establish the cause as positively as it can. This is necessary to insure against a repetition of this occurrence. The establishment of the cause and means of prevention of incidents of this type is necessary also for the purpose of establishing full confidence in Air Force materiel, procedures, and training.

During the past several months the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee has exercised an active and almost constant surveillance over the developments in Vietnam. One of our staff members spent almost a month there in a detailed on-the-scene investigation and study. The Senate may be assured that the subcommittee will give this latest occurrence its full and close attention. We will not let the matter drop upon the completion of the investigation by the Air Force Inspector General. We intend to call upon the Defense Department for complete information with respect to the report of the Inspector General and examine the entire substance of it.

If the facts developed by the inspector general appear to be incomplete or inadequate in any respect, or if there is any indication that the full and complete facts are not being made available to us, we will then undertake our own independent investigation, including, if necessary, the dispatch of staff personnel to Vietnam to inquire into the matter. In short, we will take such action as is necessary to insure that the facts surrounding this tragedy are brought to light and that our fighting men in Vietnam have the most effective materiel and procedures that can be provided.

THE IMPACT OF AUTOMATION

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, we are constantly reminded of the impact of automation on our lives today, and frequently this impact is the source of labor-management disputes.

At the Phoenix Steel Corp.'s plant at Claymont, Del., however, the onset of automation has produced cooperation instead of trouble. While both the company and the United Steelworkers local are to be congratulated on the way they have worked out their mutual problems, it is the union which has in effect decided to tighten its belt during a massive modernization campaign and, in my opinion, deserves special commendation.

It seems to me that other areas of the country can learn something from this experience in Delaware, and I ask unanimous consent that a news article from the Wilmington Morning News, entitled "Phoenix Union Aids Automation," be inserted at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

FOR LONG-RANGE BENEFITS: PHOENIX UNION
AIDS AUTOMATION
(By Martin Frost)

Automation is coming to one of Delaware's biggest industrial plants with a strong assist from the company's workers.

Union members at Phoenix Steel Corp.'s Claymont plant have agreed to tighten their belts temporarily so the firm may purchase modern machinery, a step that is expected to increase the labor force by more than one-third in the long run.

"The plant was obsolete," William G. Toner, international representative for the United Steelworkers of America (USW), points out.

The Phoenix board chairman, Stanley Kirk, expresses what the company was facing a little more strongly: "A dead company would be no good to anyone."

Essentially the situation was that Phoenix saw a need to undertake a massive modernization campaign to speed up production and make operation more efficient.

However, there was one main obstacle in the path of modernization: Article 19, section 1 of the company's contract with Local 3182 of the United Steelworkers. This clause provided that the company could not reduce the size of existing work crews without the consent of the union.

Modern machinery would not increase efficiency if work crews had to be kept at the same size, the company contended.

After consultation with national union officials, the local agreed late last month to waive the clause for 2 years, the time needed by the plant to install the new equipment.

At the end of that time, the article will be replaced with section 2B of the existing national agreement between big steel and the union. Section 2B contains the main principles of the local clause but is not as rigid.

The short-range effect of the local's agreement to waive article 19, section 1, will be a reduction of employees at the plant. This will be accomplished as new machinery is installed and work crews are reduced.

The union has arranged that this be done through a labor pool plan whereby high-seniority members whose jobs are abolished can be shifted to jobs in other parts of the plant.

Toner and Local President Edgar M. Gibson see this as only a short-range sacrifice. They predict the plant will be employing at least 2,000 production workers once the modernization is completed. Present employment is 1,450 production workers. Kirk agrees that in the long run employment will be up, probably to 2,000 in 2 years.

More employees will be needed for processing and handling when production is increased, Toner points out. He also says increased production will allow the plant to diversify its efforts.

Most of its time now is spent making steel slabs, an intermediary step in production. Modern machinery will speed up the slab-making and allow more finishing time, he said.

Kirk is high in praise of the union for its cooperation. "They are to be commended," he said. "They have been realistic."

Members of the local negotiating committee were Gibson, chairman; Leroy Pernsley, cochairman; Stanley Zalewski, and Robert Dungan.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I believe that I obtained permission for the Senate to convene at 12 o'clock noon on Thursday, tomorrow, and at 12 o'clock noon on Friday. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY TO 12 O'CLOCK NOON ON MONDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the

May 19, 1965

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A2493

The Dedication at Runnymede

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 19, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, last week Queen Elizabeth II dedicated an historic spot of ground at Runnymede to the United States. The ceremony was a fitting tribute to the memory of John F. Kennedy.

But the dedication of this English land to America was, in addition, a reminder that we in the United States are fortunate enough to live under a Government of law.

On June 15, 1215, King John signed the Magna Carta on the meadow at Runnymede. A most significant part of that charter reads as follows:

No free man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, outlawed, banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we proceed against or prosecute him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land.

These words, now 750 years old, laid the groundwork for constitutional government and the protection of individual rights. Our Constitution, which is the supreme "law of the land" is heir to the spirit of the Magna Carta.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent editorial from the May 17, 1965, issue of the Christian Science Monitor, which points out the deep meaning of the ceremonies last week at Runnymede.

The editorial follows:

AMERICA AT RUNNYMEDE

The English-speaking world can never be reminded too often of the foundations of its strength and durability. Particularly in these times, when this same world stands at the center of the great struggle to preserve and broaden human rights and freedoms, the English-speaking nations can draw needed vigor and understanding from recalling those qualities which underlie their centuries of progress.

It is for such a reason that we welcome having our attention turned once again to the mead of Runnymede beside the Thames. English-speaking freedom neither began nor ended with what happened there on the bright June day of 1215. But King John's signature on Magna Carta became symbolic of all the freedoms which have grown and prospered so abundantly wherever English is spoken.

The American Nation, where now live a majority of those who speak the English tongue and thrive under English-born freedoms, today feels particularly close to Runnymede. With the dedication by Queen Elizabeth of the gift to the United States of an acre of English ground in memory of President Kennedy, America and Britain have paused for a moment in their busy worlds to contemplate the many ties which bind them.

Of all the memorials to President Kennedy, at home or abroad, none can compare with this gift to his country of a portion of so hallowed a ground. We believe that President Kennedy, with his strong sense of history, would have agreed with this view.

The 750-year road from Runnymede has been a magnificent one. The human spirit, impelled by a higher spirit, has won immense victories. Furthermore, the rate of victory

has accelerated with the passing of centuries, as the base of progress grew broader and broader. Wherever their birth, these victories and freedoms belong to all men. It is of this that the ceremonies at Runnymede remind us.

They Hear the Light

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 19, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago it was my privilege to call to the attention of my colleagues the great achievement of blind girls who are holding down jobs as switchboard operators. This was made possible through the invention of a special switchboard by I. A. Vandergriff, an engineer with the Southern Bell Telephone System.

In this achievement we see the finest American traditions at work—the ingenuity and know-how of private industry in constantly working for improving the life of all the people, and the courage and determination of Americans who have never been felled by circumstance nor defeated by adversity.

This one example is a thrilling story and deserves to be told in all its detail. Once again I would like to pay tribute to the courage of the blind girls who have so successfully overcome their handicap, and to the engineer and the Southern Bell Telephone System for their efforts to use highly skilled personnel and technical knowledge in behalf of mankind.

A discussion of the operation of the switchboard designed by Mr. Vandergriff is contained in the Southern PBX magazine. It was written by Mr. H. G. Daugherty of Anniston, Ala., and I include it here as a part of these remarks:

THEY HEAR THE LIGHT

(By H. G. Daugherty, district traffic manager, Anniston, Ala.)

This is another story of the courage of the blind. Respecting this courage, several interested people have dedicated their efforts to the creation of a training program for the purpose of providing well-trained blind girls to serve industry, business, and the general public as switchboard attendants at private branch exchanges. This program has now been in effect for over 5 years at the Adult Blind Department Training Center in Talladega, Ala.—with most outstanding results.

People too numerous to mention here have contributed to this fine program; but it was Southern Bell Design Engineer I. A. Vandergriff, Atlanta, Ga., who received the challenge to design a switchboard which blind girls could efficiently use. Mr. Vandergriff was successful and the program for training blind attendants became a reality.

The training board—as designed by Mr. Vandergriff—teamed with an effective training program for mastering its use, enables blind girls to become efficient attendants through use of several electronic aids. These electronic devices permit trainees to "hear the light."

There are three relatively simple electronic devices which are used together on the training board at Talladega. These devices may be readily adapted to practically any type of PBX switchboard and are provided by the

blind rehabilitation program at no expense to the employer.

First, tone boxes are located on either side of the top of the switchboard. When a receiver is lifted within the business, the attendant hears a tone. A high frequency tone identifies the call as coming from one side of the board—a low frequency tone means the call is coming from the other side of the board.

The second piece of equipment adapted to the switchboard is a sectionalizer, which is simply a vertical lamp strip down the center of the board. When a signal comes into the board a light comes on in the sectionalizer on the same line as the particular row of lamps in which the signal may be found.

Using the third device, a photoelectric probe, in connection with the tone boxes and sectionalizer, the attendant can locate the incoming signal quite fast. The light-sensitive probe, when coming in contact with the sectionalizer or burning signal light, emits a tone in the attendant's headset.

Thus, an attendant hears the tone indicating an incoming signal, searches the sectionalizer for the lamp row, then moves to the signal and plugs in.

The training program developed for blind attendants is recognized as one of the best of its kind in the Nation. And the program, considered good from its beginning by all who saw it, has been vastly improved by the dedicated efforts of Mrs. Jerry Johnson, head of the adult blind department's PBX attendant training program at Talladega. Graduates of Mrs. Johnson's course are well-trained attendants whose employment by any businessman is good business.

The training program, as given at Talladega, is not complete until the trainee is able to meet her needs in daily living, travel and personal grooming as well as reaching a maximum level of efficiency at the switchboard. Much time is spent teaching students to make full use of voice quality. The friendly voice of the blind attendant becomes, perhaps, her greatest single asset.

The Center believes, and fully indoctrinates their students in the belief, that nothing enhances the reputation of friendliness and courtesy in a business more than does the girl sitting behind the firm's PBX. Her good training, and subsequent capable performance, can mean dollars for her employer. Only the very best performance the attendant is capable of giving is good enough for this vital spot in any organization. The well-trained and versatile blind attendant provides just this type of service and is, by her example of performing at maximum efficiency, a source of inspiration which has far reaching effects on the morale of all.

"If Vietcong Keeps Sanctuary in North Vietnam It Can Call the Tune"—Gen.

E. G. Wheeler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 19, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on May 7 Gen. E. G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, addressed the Commonwealth Club of California on the subject "If Vietcong Keeps Sanctuary in North Vietnam It Can Call the Tune." His very enlightening talk was briefed in the flashes in the Commonwealth of May 17. While it is not a complete report of

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his discussion, I think the points which he made are well developed.

The report from the Commonwealth follows:

"If VIETCONG KEEPS SANCTUARY IN NORTH VIETNAM IT CAN CALL THE TUNE"—GEN. E. G. WHEELER

(From address by Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, U.S. Army, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff)

The fact that our forces are supporting the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, a small country on the opposite side of the world, has generated strong currents of confusion in some elements of American opinion. Much of this confusion is reflected by a lack of knowledge of the factual answers to some very basic questions:

"What are the causes of the conflict in Vietnam?"

"Isn't the Vietcong insurgency really a popular uprising of South Vietnamese against the Government? What keeps the insurgency going? Are the South Vietnamese doing their part to defeat it?"

"Why is the United States involved?"

"What are the objectives of the United States?"

"What are the main lines of effort we are pursuing?"

In the time I have this afternoon I cannot answer all these questions fully. But, believe me, all can be answered and well.

Basically there are just two causes of conflict in Vietnam: the intense desire of the average Vietnamese for freedom—a desire he has demonstrated through more than 2,000 years of history—and Ho Chi Minh's conflicting desire to make all Vietnam Communist.

HO CHI MINH'S GOAL NOT NEW

Ho Chi Minh has been seeking his goal since he organized the Communist Party in Vietnam about 1930. He quickly worked himself into what amounted to control of the clandestine nationalist movement, aimed at overthrow of the French.

During World War II, he increased this control when he persuaded other nationalist groups to join his Vietnam Independence League, later called the Viet Minh, and, effectively strengthened the organization of Communist cells throughout Vietnam.

As the war ended, Ho was unquestionably the most popular leader in Vietnam. He was not recognized at the time by most Vietnamese as representing an alien force and had wide support in 1945 when he announced formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

However, by the time of the Geneva agreement of 1954, which in effect partitioned the country, enough Vietnamese had recognized Ho's true intentions to provide solid support for a democracy in South Vietnam. Almost 1 million moved south to get away from communism as opposed to about 100,000 who moved north—most of these hard-core Communist Viet Minh.

RED UNDERGROUND STAYED IN SOUTH

Not all the hard-core types moved north. Ho Chi Minh directed that a well organized Viet Minh underground network, complete with arms and ammunition, remain in the south. His objective: takeover of the entire country. This is the primary cause of the current conflict.

Although some South Vietnamese are involved, the Vietcong insurgency cannot be called a popular uprising. From the very beginning it has been a carefully planned attempt by a Communist government to conquer a neighboring state.

HO TRIED TO PENETRATE GOVERNMENT

The record shows that in 1955 Ho Chi Minh attempted to penetrate agents into official and quasi-official South Vietnamese organizations and agencies and, through propaganda and disruption, cause the people to

lose confidence in the government. By 1956 he realized that force would be required and use of terror began.

By 1958 a marked and continuing increase in terrorist activities was noticeable. Terror was used to back up demands for support from the people, and raise doubts as to the ability of the government to provide security. This campaign of terror, reinforced by periodic military attacks, has escalated ever since.

Hanoi has used every resource of its own government to carry out its aggression. Hanoi controls the war politically and militarily.

Political direction comes from the reunification department within the central committee of the North Vietnamese Communist Party, the Lao Dong Party.

NORTH VIETNAM CONTROLS VIETCONG

On the ground in South Vietnam, headed by a North Vietnamese lieutenant general and taking orders from the reunification department, is the overall supervising agency, the central office for South Vietnam. Under this office are six regional units and the Saigon special zone.

On the military side, the Vietcong is controlled by the high command of the North Vietnamese Army and the ministry of defense, under close supervision of the Lao Dong. The six military regions are the same as those for the political organization, and the military structure and political machinery are closely integrated in support of overall Communist aggression.

Fronting the Vietcong is the so-called national front for the liberation of South Vietnam. It was set up in 1960, and we have irrefutable evidence that it was established at Hanoi's direction.

PROOF OF OUTSIDE RED WEAPONS OVERWHELMING

For example, a document found on the body of a Vietcong soldier in 1961 said in part: "In implementation of the decision of the Third Congress of the Lao Dong Party, the NFSLV (the national front) was set up to unify the revolutionary struggle, to overthrow the United States-Diem regime, to establish a popular government of democratic union, and bring about the peaceful reunification of the country. The revolution for the liberation of the south would never succeed if the party (the Lao Dong Party) were not directing it." This is proof positive in my judgment as to just who is running the Vietcong.

Hanoi sustains the insurgency through a never-ending stream of personnel, arms, ammunition, and other supplies infiltrated into South Vietnam. Our proof of this has become overwhelming.

Recently captured prisoners and documents have shown that since 1959, at least 39,000 individuals have been infiltrated from the north, with between 5,000 and 8,000 confirmed during 1964 alone. In fact, we estimate that the true figure for 1964 is probably at least 10,000.

Furthermore, we have proof that 75 percent of these 1964 infiltrators were born in North Vietnam, clearly demonstrating that Hanoi is determined to continue support of the Vietcong even though the supply of former southerners ordered north in 1954 is drying up.

Hanoi has now gone so far as to infiltrate at least one entire North Vietnamese Army battalion—and there are probably more.

The same is true of weapons. Although initially the Vietcong used weapons cached in 1954 and those captured locally, in recent years the great bulk of weapons requirements has been met from external sources.

Since 1960, the Vietcong have captured about 39,000 weapons from government sources and lost 25,000 of their own—a net gain of only 14,000. As the Vietcong have about 38,000 to 46,000 hard-core troops and

about 100,000 irregulars, you can see that the captured weapons account for only a small percentage of the total weapons needs. In fact, we now know that at least 70 percent have come from external Communist sources.

NEWEST RED CHINESE WEAPONS IN USE

The hard-core Vietcong troops are now being entirely re-equipped and retrained with the newest Chinese Communist family of weapons. Prisoners captured just last month said they had been pulled out of action to receive and train with these new Chinese Communist weapons.

We know from other sources that at least 6 battalions are now so equipped, including the known battalion of the North Vietnam Army, already mentioned.

We are also sure that at least 17 other hard-core battalions are now using 7.62-mm. weapons—weapons not in the inventory of either South Vietnamese or U.S. forces. The ammunition for such weapons must also come from the north, via the infiltration route.

Against the massive aggression through infiltration, the South Vietnamese have shown an unswerving will to resist. More than 50,000 South Vietnamese soldiers have been killed or wounded in battle since 1960. On a percentage basis this would amount to over 600,000 casualties if we were having a similar war here in the United States—about the same loss suffered by the Union Armies during the Civil War.

Absorbing such a casualty rate and fighting with progressively improving effectiveness, indicates a most unusual will to resist.

CIVILIANS FLEE VIETCONG

The Vietnamese civilians have also demonstrated their strong aversion to communism by continuing to support the government, where practicable, despite multiple assassinations, kidnappings, and continuous terror. Over 11,000 South Vietnamese were either murdered or kidnapped in 1964 alone—equivalent to 143,000 here in the United States.

Yet, in recent months over 200,000 civilians have fled Vietcong controlled areas seeking Government protection. After 8 years of this sort of thing, the South Vietnamese are still in there swinging. These people have guts.

I am proud that we are helping this nation. Yet, some ask, how do we justify our efforts in South Vietnam? I have no difficulty answering this question.

LONG-TIME U.S. COMMITMENT

First we are involved from the political standpoint because we have committed ourselves to help them. In 1950, we agreed to furnish military aid against the Viet Minh and in 1951, economic aid.

After the partition of 1954—in 1955 to be exact—we reaffirmed our 1950 commitment to provide military assistance and advice. We did so following a policy supported by four different Presidents who agreed that America must be willing to help nations threatened by Communist aggression.

The Truman doctrine, you will recall, was aimed directly at this target, and Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson have continued the policy.

If we are to believe public opinion polls and the fact that congressional opinion generally reflects public opinion, the great majority of Americans have agreed with their Presidents in this matter.

Whether we, as individuals, agree is now somewhat beside the point as the faith of our friends and the little people who look to us as the pillar of freedom would be badly damaged if we backed down.

FREE ASIAN COUNTRIES NEED U.S. SUPPORT

From the strategic standpoint there are other, equally cogent reasons. Red China is the great power in Asia. Just as the Soviets historically have always sought control of a

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major warm water port, the Chinese have longed for control of the rich rice lands of southeast Asia. The Red Chinese are no exception.

The small, relatively undeveloped southeast Asian nations are incapable of defending themselves alone against a great power. Should we not assist these nations, they would be subjected to intolerable Communist pressures which could well force them to accommodate the Communists.

These pressures could not only affect the mainland nations but those offshore as well, including the Philippines, Indonesia, and others.

WITHDRAWAL WOULD NOT MEAN PEACE

The decision, then, is not limited to whether we should help the Vietnamese but rather, should we assist any nation of southeast Asia to resist Chinese pressure and/or aggression.

Should we give up in Vietnam, there is no question that Communist expansionism would be encouraged and pressure on the remainder of the area greatly increased.

Unless we discard our objective of containing Communist aggression, defeat in South Vietnam will force us to draw a new line somewhere in southeast Asia and try to defend that. This would be most difficult.

We would wind up, and probably rather quickly, facing the very same situation we face today in Vietnam, only with weakened morale and political uncertainty on the part of those being supported, plus a much less defensible position, militarily speaking.

Another essential related reason for us to continue our present course is the effect our defeat would have within the Communist world. We are all aware of the somewhat different approaches of the Soviets and the Red Chinese to world affairs.

The violent xenophobic and sometimes irrational tendencies of the Chinese leaders, together with their incipient nuclear power, appear to pose the greater danger to world peace.

MUST SEEK DECISION IN VIETNAM

Our defeat in Vietnam would undoubtedly give great impetus to the Chinese drive to take over the world Communist movement and magnify the immediate danger to newly emerging and unstable nations all over the world, not just in southeast Asia.

We would not only face a new Vietnam type situation in southeast Asia, but could well be involved simultaneously in several such situations around the world.

Finally, from a purely military standpoint, Vietnam is, in effect a bottleneck through which Chinese Communist aggression must pass in order to spread. Although the bottleneck analogy is not literally true, it is militarily valid.

The spread of Communist political poison to Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and even India could be greatly enhanced if this bottleneck were open to Communist military forces.

We must strive for a decision, now, in Vietnam. What sort of a decision—what are our objectives?

REDS SHOULD LEAVE NEIGHBORS ALONE

As the President has said so often, all we want is to get the nations in that part of the world to leave their neighbors alone, free to find their own destiny without outside pressure. We want nothing more—no land, no special rights. We are willing to help all of the nations in the area to get back on their feet, including North Vietnam.

This objective is a far cry from the classic objective of warfare—the overthrow and total defeat of the enemy. In military terms, our objective is very limited indeed, actually very similar to the Korean war.

We are willing to attain this limited objective through negotiations, any time and anywhere, in lieu of insisting on military victory. This follows very logically from

the fact that we have no aggressive, expansionist desires.

We have undertaken an interlocking, two-pronged course of action.

SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE ESSENTIAL

First, we are assisting the South Vietnamese so that they can successfully resist the Vietcong aggression internally. Success of this effort is a basic requirement, not only because of the importance per se of military victory or loss but also because we cannot permit the North Vietnamese to think they can suffer for a little while our attacks in the north and still win in the south.

The second prong of our effort reinforces the first. We and the South Vietnamese are striking military targets in the north. We are doing this with the objective of actually weakening the capability of Hanoi to continue to support the Vietcong and, at the same time, impressing on the North Vietnamese the irrationality of continuing their aggression.

REDS MUST LEARN: AGGRESSION DOESN'T PAY

The North Vietnamese must be made to understand that aggression, like any other crime, does not pay. They must be made to understand this by the destruction or defeat of their troops fighting under the guise of Vietcong in the south.

They must be made to understand this by the forcible curtailment of the flow of replacement and supplies to these troops through interdicting the supply lines in the north, destroying where possible the military supplies being used, and in general depriving the Vietcong of the sanctuary it was afforded prior to February of this year.

One lesson we have learned about insurgency is that it is most difficult, if not impossible, to defeat if the enemy has a sanctuary.

With a sanctuary, the enemy can control his losses, the rate and types of supplies and reinforcements and, in effect, call the tune. Insurgent defeats under such circumstances are only temporary since replacement personnel and material are soon available, as in Vietnam in the past.

Without a sanctuary, insurgency becomes entirely in-country and provided the government's cause is just, the people can be rallied to win the day.

HANOI FOLLOWING KHRUSHCHEV'S CRY

We are dealing with aggression just as surely as the North Korean attack on South Korea in June of 1950 was aggression. Hanoi is carrying out the instructions contained in Nikita Khrushchev's famous speech of January 1961 in which he told the world that the main Communist tool for expansion henceforth would be Communist inspired subversion—only he used the words wars of national liberation.

Note that 1961 was also the year in which Vietcong increased the tempo of the war to such an extent that South Vietnam made its first request for a major increase in U.S. assistance.

In essence, the war in Vietnam is the first real test of Khrushchev's theory. This war will show whether a free people can be overcome against their will by cold, calculated subversive aggression, planned, controlled and supplied by a neighboring nation.

RED VICTORY WOULD BE DISASTROUS

Successful aggression begets more aggression. As a military man, I am convinced that a Communist victory in Vietnam would be disastrous and would lead inevitably to more of the world falling prey to Communist expansionist subversion.

You will recall that Ernest Hemingway's book, "For Whom the Bell Tolls," makes the point that loss of liberty anywhere threatens the loss of liberty everywhere. Or, to quote in part of the original words of John Donne, from whom Hemingway got his book title:

"No man is an island, * * * every man is a piece of the continent * * * if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less as

well as if a promontory were * * * any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and, therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

Question (George Rhodes) Any indications that Soviet missiles, antiaircraft weapons, and radar are in North Vietnam and operable?

Answer. There are a number of antiaircraft guns, field artillery, and automatic weapons along with quantity of radar; site is being built for missiles. Source of antiaircraft and ground artillery weapons not known.

Question (H. Richard Allen) U.S. aircraft losses in Vietnam indicate better-trained guerrillas?

Answer. Losses remarkably small. We've lost 130 fixed-wing aircraft, two-thirds of them from noncombat causes. Same ratio in helicopter losses. Two reasons: (1) Vietcong have more antiaircraft weapons, and (2) they are better trained now.

Question (Peter Haywood) Letters regarding outdated equipment in newspapers factual?

Answer. Investigated all of them to find they represented isolated case. A tiny unit in boonocks needed resupply—which it got by regular requisition at same time letters appeared. Best equipment we have is in Vietnam. Even take modern equipment from forces at home and give to Vietnamese.

Question (Ransom K. Davis). News reports that Vietnamese don't want U.S. forces?

Answer. If so, we haven't noticed. Morale of civilians has gone up as that of Vietnamese Air Force. United States/Vietnamese relationship cordial and close.

Question (Bill Boldenwed). Types of Chinese weapons being introduced into South Vietnam?

Answer. Mostly automatic weapons copied from Soviet types but made in Chinese Communist arsenals. Automatic machineguns, rifles, bazookas, etc. Very well made.

Question (C. F. Runyan). With forces active in two hemispheres, is strategic capability to respond dangerously reduced?

Answer. Don't think so—if we thought so, we'd speak out. Army has eight divisions in United States, Marine Corps one; Tactical Air Force has sizable force and SAC hasn't been touched. Navy also has sizable forces uncommitted.

Question (Arthur L. Brice). Mobilization of Reserve or National Guard in near future?

Answer. Hope not. Do not think so. Right now, no. Who can tell future?

Question (Craig Bull). Us of Formosan (Nationalist Chinese) troops?

Answer. Not used for two reasons: (1) Probably widen conflict, drawing in Chinese Communists; and (2) they contribute to cause indirectly.

Question (Gaynor Langsdorf). Action in North Vietnam slowing down flow of men and supplies to Vietcong?

Answer. Yes. We've put a few obstacles in their way—bridges aren't where they used to be; ammunition reduced in inventory. There's been a definite lull in Vietcong activity.

The Peabody Conservatory of Music in Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 19, 1965

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore, Md., is

the first endowed institution of its kind in the United States and stands among the 10 leading schools of music in the country. It is represented in every American symphony orchestra, in opera companies and on concert stage, in music departments of colleges and schools. Thousands of men and women have carried its marks as performers and teachers.

The Peabody Conservatory is now the only one of 11 independent schools of music in the country to offer a graduate program leading to the degree of doctor of musical arts, D.M.A., which is comparable to the same level implied by the Ph. D. Of course, this world famous institution has for a long time also awarded to its students the bachelor and master degrees.

Peabody has added much to the cultural atmosphere and intellectually stimulating climate of the city of Baltimore. This city, the largest south of the Mason-Dixon line, and the sixth biggest in the Nation, is also the home of other great colleges and universities, such as Johns Hopkins, Goucher, the professional schools of the University of Maryland, and the University of Baltimore.

The Baltimore Sun, on April 11, 1965, published a very interesting article written by Helen Henry, entitled "Peabody Hitting Crescendo Note." In order that my colleagues in the Congress and the general public may know more about the Peabody Conservatory, under unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD.

The article is as follows:

PEABODY HITTING CRESCENDO NOTE
(By Helen Henry)

In Mount Vernon place the sound of spring is a cascade of scales and arpeggios bursting out of the conservatory's open windows, pouring a pleasant dissonance down on the square, a sound denizens of the park have been taking with the sun and their idle thoughts for almost a century of warm seasons.

It is the sound of young people developing their musical talents in the studios and practice rooms of George Peabody's gift to Baltimore * * * the unending exercises of ambitious pianists, singers, organists, of string, brass, and wind players, striving to perfect their techniques.

From everywhere in America and many foreign lands, four generations of them have been coming here since the conservatory opened its doors in 1867 to study under masters of the art, to learn its theory and structure, its literature and history—the creative complex of knowledge and skills that characterize musicianship.

These students enlivening the old square, and the conservatory that continues to nourish their talents, are part of the perennial charm in the cultural heart of this industrial city. The civic-minded advertise its old world atmosphere with pride; the music loving, with gratitude.

But masses of Baltimoreans—beyond a vaguely agreeable sense that Mr. Peabody's gift has been a good thing for the city—are unaware of what the conservatory really is.

AMONG TOP 10 IN COUNTRY

The Peabody Conservatory, first endowed institution of its kind in the United States, stands among the 10 leading schools of music in the country. Thousands of men and women have carried its stamp of excellence as performers and teachers to every corner in the land: the conservatory is represented in every American symphony orchestra, in opera companies, and on the concert stage, in

music departments of many colleges and schools.

Still more thousands in Baltimore and its environs have received their youthful music instruction, as part of their general education, in its preparatory school.

One of its distinguished graduates, Howard Mitchell, musical director of the National Symphony Orchestra, said in a recent address to Baltimore alumni, "The influence exerted in the world of music by former and present students trained by the excellent faculty of the Peabody is incalculable * * * far more people outside of Baltimore than within the city know its eminence."

Stressing the value of a conservatory in developing the "complete musician," he added, "Nowhere can the wellspring of musical talent be as effectively nourished and supplied as it can in a truly great conservatory of music such as the Peabody."

It is for the musician, particularly the professional musician, that a conservatory exists—an institution of European origin that has developed and advanced the art of music since the 16th century. According to music historians, the conservatori, in which the great schools of Italian music were formed, were so called because "they were intended to preserve (conservare) the science of music from corruption." It is precisely in that tradition of guarding the highest standards of teaching against any cheapening of the art that the Peabody has functioned.

SYSTEM OF TRAINING CHANGED

Its system of training, however, has departed from the European type, just as the center of the music world has shifted from Europe to America in this century.

"The old European conservatory was a sort of segmentalized institution—it never had any connection with a college or university," said Dr. Charles S. Kent, Peabody's director, whose musical education has been wholly American. He is the seventh director in the conservatory's history.

"We are still getting people from them, bringing us things like a certificate in piano or organ * * * but in the United States it is necessary that any institution enter into the American educational plan and offer not only special training in any one instrument, composing, conducting, etc., but add as well the complete college curriculum and offer degrees."

So has this been Peabody's trend since 1928, when the State department of education gave it authority to offer a bachelor's degree. Since then a master's degree has been added. And, more recently, a doctor's degree.

"One of the reasons for my coming to the conservatory was to inaugurate a doctoral curriculum," said Dr. Kent, now in his second year as director. He is successor to Dr. Peter Mennin, with whom he served as dean before Mennin left the Peabody to become head of Juilliard School of Music in New York.

"A Ph. D. degree from a graduate school," Dr. Kent explained, "always implies a degree in research; there never has been a comparable degree in music until a few universities, not long ago, started to offer degrees which they called either doctor of music or doctor of musical arts, to recognize a level of achievement in performance or other musical areas such as composition and conducting, comparable to the same level implied by the Ph. D."

Peabody Conservatory is now the only 1 of 11 independent schools of music in the United States to offer the doctoral program (D.M.A.).

ACCREDITED WITH COLLEGES

It is not generally realized in Baltimore, Dr. Kent pointed out, that the conservatory is accredited at the same level by the same

agency that accredits Johns Hopkins University, Goucher, Notre Dame and Loyola Colleges—the Middle States Association of Schools and Colleges—as well as by the National Association of Schools of Music, and that, because of its accreditation, it has a well-rounded academic program. Its academic curriculum includes English composition and literature, modern languages, music literature and history, psychology, social science and pedagogy.

The conservatory has an academic affiliation with Goucher, the Johns Hopkins University, Loyola and Towson State College, whereby their students may receive credits toward bachelor degrees in arts or science for music courses taken at Peabody.

Three years ago a committee of the Peabody trustees made a study of the whole field of education of musicians at the professional level. They first inquired whether in the light of the development of departments of music at such institutions as Harvard, Yale, Boston University, Southern California and Indiana, there was a continuing need for independent schools of music. Leading musicians from all parts of the country were consulted.

"There was remarkable unanimity," said William L. Marbury, president of the board of trustees, "in the view that the professional schools were performing a unique and necessary function. While the universities were training the musical historians, lexicographers, the critics and the academic musicians, it was generally agreed that with rare exceptions the composers, performers, and teachers of music as a performing art would have to be trained in independent conservatories. Moreover, it was the opinion of all consulted that only in an independent conservatory could the student find the necessary flexibility of curriculum combined with the professional atmosphere essential to the development of creative musicians."

"The changes which are planned in the Juilliard School after it moves to Lincoln Center and the gradual integration of schools such as Eastman and Oberlin into the universities of which they are a part," Mr. Marbury continued, "will leave the Peabody as one of a few places in the United States where students who seek to combine a mastery of music as creative artists can find the kind of instruction which they require."

EXCELLENT CONDUCTING DEPARTMENT

This was recognized by the Ford Foundation, Dr. Kent pointed out, when they singled out eight independent schools to receive scholarship grants. He referred to the foundation's gift of \$400,000 to the Peabody's 3-year (1961-64) American Conductors Project to train and promote American orchestra conductors—the first undertaking of its kind.

"As a result of that project," he said, "the Peabody now has an excellent conducting department, at both undergraduate and graduate levels. We are careful not to encourage anyone in this direction unless he has talent. Eight students are in this department at present. Incidentally, we found that at least one of our girls is showing exceptional conducting talent."

Another development at the conservatory is in the area of opera. "This year for the first time we have a real opera department in which students are performing leading roles," said Dr. Kent. "We imported the artists who originated roles in two operas—Menotti's 'The Medium' and the recently performed 'Masque of Angels' by Dominick Argento, a Peabody graduate—to stimulate the student singers to rise to the professional level."

A new note in the curriculum is a course in electronic music, an introduction to contemporary techniques and developments in electronic tone production. A young Baltimore audio engineer, Burgess MacNeal, conducts it.